

Waffle News

(Feb. 12, 1971)

SPECIAL LEADERSHIP CONVENTION ISSUE

Feb 1971

16 PAGES



Some 500 demonstrators—including the Regina Women's Liberation group, the Seekers of Security (a welfare rights' group), the Regina Waffle Movement in the NDP, and the Students' Union—protested the high levels of unemployment in Canada on the visit to Regina of Prime Minister Trudeau on February 13. Similar demonstrations against the callousness and indifference of a government that has deliberately created unemployment have been held throughout the country.

Unemployment is one of the major issues facing Canada today. The Waffle movement in the NDP looks at a number of national and international problems and presents some analyses and solutions. This special issue includes a major section on resource policy, with excerpts from the book *The Energy Factor*. Garner, the Jim Laxer Waffle candidate for the federal leadership of the party, has also played a key role in establishing national debates on energy, unemployment, foreign aid, and the environment. In the article of Ontario

INSIDE, ARTICLES ON:

- *Unemployment in Canada* — page 6
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Jim Laxer stands for an independent socialist Canada

Jim Laxer, Waffle candidate for the NDP federal leadership, has played a central role in stimulating recent national debates on foreign ownership, the resource sell-out and the status of Quebec.

He and Melville Watkins, co-authors of the Waffle Manifesto "For an Independent Socialist Canada", were among the 11 people who first met in the spring of 1969 to discuss ways of revitalizing debate within the NDP on the crucial issues of socialism and independence.

The movement that grew out of this meeting became known as the Waffle, following an argument on public ownership which concluded with one participant's comment that he'd rather "waffle to the left than waffle to the right."

The policy debate has sharpened in the meantime, with an increasing number of rank-and-file NDP members becoming involved in discussions about the direction in which their party is moving.

Jim Laxer has spent countless hours, days and weeks since then encouraging such discussions at the riding level, building support for policy initiatives at provincial and federal conventions of the party, and stimulating debate on key national issues in the public press.

The 29-year-old visiting lecturer in Canadian History at Queen's University has authored historical pieces on social movements in Quebec and English Canada.

The Energy Poker Game

His book, *The Energy Poker Game*, contributed to a major campaign in the fall of 1970 against the sell-out of Canadian resources. Laxer's warning of an impending continental energy resources deal was born out two weeks after the publication of the book, when the Canadian government agreed to sell 6.3 trillion cubic feet of natural gas worth three billion dollars to the United States over the next 15 years.

"The energy deal means that along with the resources, American corporations will also get the profits, since 82.6 per cent of the oil and gas wells industry in Canada is American-owned," Laxer notes.

Laxer has been active in the NDP for years, working on the University of Toronto campus, and in ridings in Toronto, Ottawa and Kingston. He is now a member of the Ontario provincial executive, and the federal council of the party.

His commitment to the NDP was the basis for his growing concern in the late 1960's that the party was out of touch with new grass roots movements for social change, and with the intense problems created for the working people of Canada by huge American-based multi-national corporations and their Canadian business and political allies.

This concern was shared by others in the party, and their efforts to get the NDP to relate to extra-parliamentary activists led to a vision of an NDP that would serve as a political focus for the labor movement, the farm movement and community activists, working together in a common socialist

struggle against the massive corporations, many of them American-owned, which dominate our social and economic lives.

The New Socialist Society

Laxer believes that the new socialist society must be built from the bottom up, involving great numbers of Canadians in conscious protests, vigorous debates, and long-term organizing. Only such

a mass base can make a political party powerful enough to fundamentally challenge corporate control of our society and to assert public priorities.

Laxer was writing about social movements in English Canada and Quebec when he was a student editor and a national president of Canadian University Press. In 1963, he organized a demonstration of 3,000 people at Queen's Park, calling for a 'fair deal' for Quebec.

Issues not Images

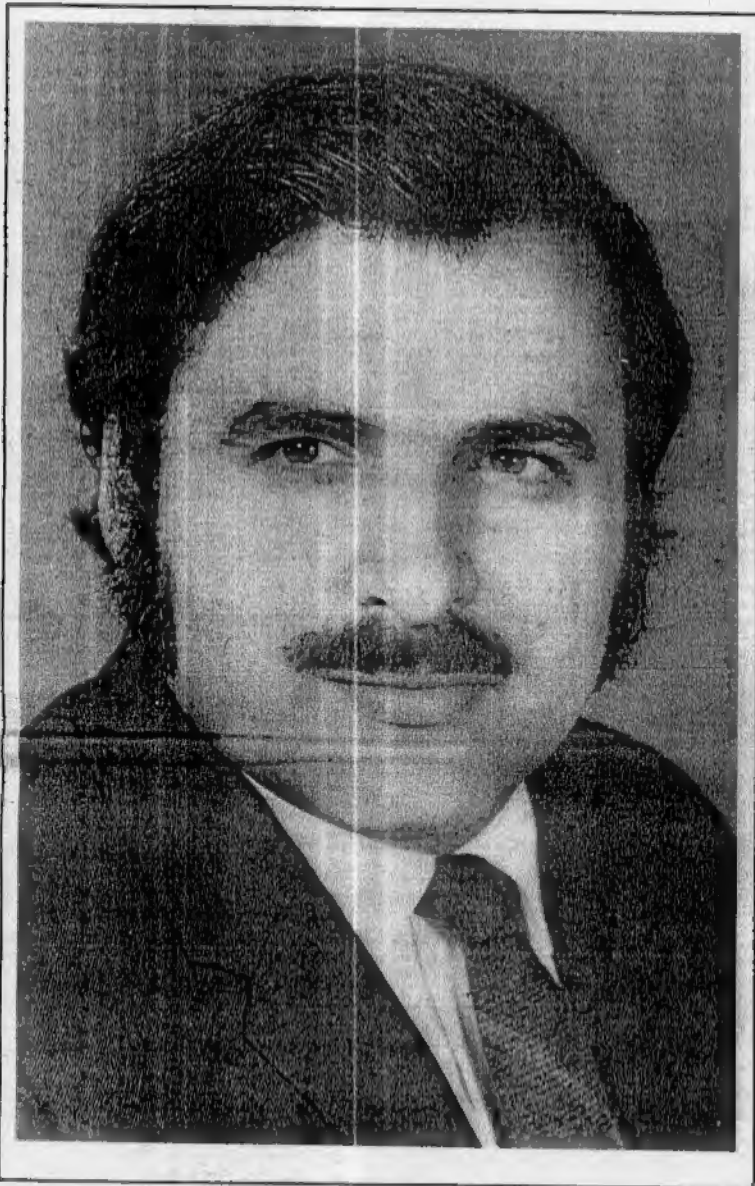
The Waffle campaign to elect Jim Laxer Federal N.D.P. leader is centered on a program that has been developed by hundreds of New Democrats over the past two years. This program for an independent socialist Canada has changed the course of political debate not only in the N.D.P. but in the country. It has revitalized rank-and-file decisions within the Party and has involved an increasing number of people in a reassessment of the directions of the party's policy and practices. If you support this effort to organize for socialism on a foundation of issues not images and to elect people to leading party positions who are dedicated to doing that, please help pay the cost of distribution of this tabloid newspaper.

Send contributions to Information Expenses Fund,
66 Cassandra Blvd., No. 3, Don Mills Ontario.

If you would like:

- **Extra copies of this paper to distribute**
Write to Caroline Brown, 2865 Retallack Street, Regina, Sask.
- **Speakers for meetings**
Write to Steven Penner, Waffle Leadership Campaign, 11 1/2 Spadina Road, Toronto, Ontario.
- **More information about the Waffle**
Write Edna Laxer, 68 Castle Knock Road, Toronto 305, Ontario.

"There is a very broad consensus in the party for a socialist program"



By JIM LAXER

After travelling across the country for the past few months during the leadership campaign and having talked to thousands of members of our party, I am convinced that there is in our party a very broad agreement about the need for the NDP to espouse a more socialist program; for the NDP to move away from the ways of caution that characterized the first decade of its existence.

Within this broad agreement and sentiment in the party, there are of course important and even basic disagreements. But the important thing is that the broad membership of this party wants us to put forward and enact as a government a socialist program

that will fundamentally redistribute power in Canadian society.

There is a strong feeling among thousands of our members that the party has not been doing that. In the last federal election in 1968 we did not go to the people with a coherent socialist program. We put before them a number of important measures we would enact. But it was clear that the party was not challenging the holders of power in any basic sense.

Why then, if there is a broad consensus of opinion in the party in favor of a socialist program, do we go to the people in such a cautious way? The reason is not hard to find.

New Democrats have been told over and over

again that a real socialist program would cost the party votes and seats. We deliberately shy away from confrontations with the old-line parties on the issue of free enterprise versus socialism. Are these fears of New Democrats justified? Given the present forms of activity in the party, they are justified to a certain extent.

It is true that we cannot expect to win the people of a province or of this country to fundamental political change during the course of an eight-week election campaign, in which all the media of Canada are turned against us.

And yet not to opt for fundamental change, is to do away with the very reason for the existence of our

party. Caught in this dilemma, New Democrats are often discouraged about the political choices that face them.

I submit that as long as we are basically organized for the purpose of fighting elections only, that it will be impossible for this party to adopt a full socialist program, because we will not have at our disposal the means to make that program effective.

There is no point in us adopting a program if we do not change our organization and our work to suit that program.

Because socialist policies challenge those who now hold power basically, we cannot rely on the methods and style of capitalist parties. If we spend our time doctoring the image of the party to suit the dominant interests, we will be forced to retreat from the content of our program, in a quest for a kind of bargain-basement, Madison-avenue politics. I submit that to a large degree that is what we have done.

And by trying to look in organizational terms like the other parties we have alienated great sections of the Canadian population. We have alienated the young and the poor and the immigrants in our society, because they are alienated from all political parties and do not see us as fundamentally different.

We must change the basic pattern of work in the party so that we concern ourselves with activating the entire party membership to be involved in the basic organizing and educational activity that alone can make a socialist party effective.

Let me give some examples. When our MPs in Ottawa were courageously fighting the War Measures Act and when we were being maligned by the media of this country, the party did little to back up the stand of the MPs. We should have been organizing large meetings, producing literature, and canvassing door to door to arm our own people with the truth about the situation in Quebec and to take that message to the Canadian people in the only way that we really can, door to door and at public meetings.

When a plant shuts down as in the case of Dunlop or Eaton automotive in London, it is not enough to site this as an example of why the people should elect an NDP government. Far too few New Democrats were there organizing and assisting the people who were being affected, mounting pressure immediately to save jobs. When the poor

people held their actions on January 25, too few New Democrats organized support on a provincial or a national scale.

I submit that we must take the political struggle out of the legislative assemblies to the people of Canada. We must open this party to the people as an instrument in which they can act directly. Only in this way can we overcome the feeling that when we approach people, all we want is their vote.

At bottom, we must change the nature of leadership in this party. Our ridings are at present all too often, apolitical associations that raise money, sign up members and canvass in elections with no further relationship to their communities.

It is only as we become rooted in the struggles in our communities that we establish the means to put forward a socialist program without fear that it can be torpedoed or misrepresented by our opponents or by the corporations. If we begin to fight the next federal election now and in this way, we will be able to talk to people directly about the basics in our program.

We will be able to put aside the fears people have about socialism. It then becomes possible for us to talk to Canadians about a society in which the people own the basic industries of the country, and democratically decide on how and for what our economy shall produce.

It becomes possible for us to seriously propose the ending of American domination of our society, when we are able to talk to people about the stories that the prime minister tells them, like his story the other day that the country needs more foreign investment, when in fact, more money is flowing out of this country in the form of profits and management fees to foreign investors than is coming in in the form of new investments.

We will be able to talk to people about the ways that special interest groups use propaganda to maintain an unfair tax system.

As long as we remain a solely electoral party, we will continue to fear talking to the people of this country in a straightforward fashion about building an independent socialist Canada. Never before has this country needed socialism so badly. Let us change the nature of our party's activity so that we can put forward a socialist program, that really will result in a transfer of power in Canada.

Laxer answers Lewis and Howard

Below are statements by David Lewis and Frank Howard on Waffle policies and practices, with a reply by James Laxer, focussing primarily on the Quebec question. The Waffle position on public ownership is put forward in another section of this tabloid.

Lewis:

PRESS RELEASE BY DAVID LEWIS
January 28, 1971

David Lewis, NDP deputy leader, took strong exception today to activities of the Waffle group within his party, and to some of the statements which have ensued from the group and its leadership candidate.

In a statement issued in advance of an address scheduled for an MLA dinner at the Balmoral Hotel in Winnipeg tonight, Mr. Lewis said, "I am certain that the convention next April will defeat the more extreme unrealistic and doctrinaire Waffle proposals and I hope that an end may be brought to the harmful and divisive factionalism which is as unnecessary as it is dangerous.

describes some Waffle proposals as "extreme, unrealistic and doctrinaire;" a Waffle statement as "pro-separatist," and nationalization "old-fashioned and out-of-date socialist fundamentalism."

"It is a great pity that the Waffle has presumptuously taken unto itself to issue statements and programs as if it were a separate political party; to enter into discussions with, for example, certain elements in the separatist Parti Quebecois for the purpose of some alliance or other, thus perverting the New Democratic Party position against separatism and harming our party's credibility in the eyes of Canadians."

A statement suggesting an accommodation with the Parti Quebecois was issued separately by Jim Laxer, as leading member of the Waffle faction and a contender for party leadership, in Toronto prior to the NDP federal council meeting on January 14.

In addition to the pro-separatist statement,

Mr. Lewis strongly objected to Waffle pronouncements on nationalization as "old-fashioned and out-of-date socialist fundamentalism."

He said, "We have learned out of the experience of the last half-century that there are very practical problems of management of publicly-owned industry, of democratizing its management and control, of the relationship of workers to management and of the industry to the actual machinery of government as well as achieving some effective control by the people who work in the industry and those who consume its products. There will, for a long time to come, if not forever, be a large and important private sector in the economy."

Howard:

A PRESS RELEASE FROM FRANK HOWARD
February 4, 1971

Frank Howard, MP for Skeena and federal leadership candidate, said last night at an all-candidate meeting in Toronto that each leadership candidate should be required clearly to make his position known with respect to the Waffle group proposals.

Mr. Howard said: "Since making my first public announcement on January 22 in which I rejected the Waffle proposals on public ownership I am pleased to see that one other leadership candidate has put a similar position forward."

"The Waffle group seeks to establish by

claims the Waffle "seeks to establish by noise what it cannot substantiate in reason;" says all candidates "should be asked to declare either for the Waffle position or against it."

noise what it cannot substantiate in reason. It is a minority group that is unreasonable and divisive and these attitudes far outweigh any of what otherwise would be valuable points. Before we proceed any further in the campaign all candidates should be asked to declare either for the Waffle position or against it. This party should not tolerate a candidate taking any position which seeks to play games with the Waffle group while at the same time attempting to win support from the cooler more reasoned heads in the NDP.

"With respect to the Waffle proposals regarding Quebec, I find those proposals destructive both to the NDP and to the concept of

Canadian unity.

"Any proposal which gives endorsement to the idea that a province has the right to separate from the rest of Canada is tantamount to saying we would like such separation to take place. Well I, for one, condemn this idea."

"Even more damaging is the proposal from this self-established identifiable group, the Waffles, that a liaison should be established with Le Parti Quebecois."

"A federal party like the NDP cannot countenance any suggestion that we ally ourselves with a parochial party that advocates separatism for any province. Let's be for Canada and be proud of it."

Laxer:

PRESS STATEMENT BY JAMES LAXER
February 12, 1971

If the leadership campaign is to be fruitful for the party, all candidates should put forward distinct programs. To date, Frank Howard and David Lewis have spent too much time criticizing the Waffle group and too little time putting forward their own positive proposals.

The Waffle group has put forward a clear set of policy statements over the past two years that indicate the direction it wants the party to take. As a candidate, I subscribe to those policies.

There have been serious distortions of the position of the Waffle group.

In a press release on January 28, David Lewis accused the Waffle group of issuing "statements and programs as if it were a separate political party" and of entering into discussions with the Parti Quebecois for the purpose of forming "some alliance or other." Mr. Lewis' press release referred to the Waffle statement on relations between English Canada and Quebec as "pro separatist."

I wish to reply to these criticisms separately:

1. All statements issued by the Waffle group are resolutions to be presented for debate to conventions of the New Democratic Party. They have no status apart from that. To suggest that this is behaving like a separate political party amounts to serious misrepresentation. Mr. Lewis, in his press release, outlined his own program on foreign ownership. The implication that his proposals represent positive suggestions while ours represent factionalism, shows a disrespect for fundamental debate within the party.

The Waffle movement has been a democratic left grouping within the party whose activities have been open to all New Democrats. The writing of Waffle resolutions has involved hundreds of party members and the debates they have sparked have greatly increased fundamental discussion on the part of rank and file party members.

2. There have been no discussions between myself and members of the Parti Quebecois for the purpose of achieving an alliance. The Waffle group's statement on Quebec calls for an alliance between English Canadian and Quebec socialists. It does not call for formal ties with any other political party and does not even mention the Parti Quebecois.

3. The description of the Waffle statement as pro-separatist is false. The statement calls for the RIGHT of national self-determination

finds it "deplorable that to date much activity during the campaign has consisted of general attacks on the Waffle," and claims there have been "serious distortions of the positions of the Waffle group."

for Quebec. It does not presume to tell Quebecers how they ought to use that right.

It is easy, in the tense atmosphere surrounding the Quebec issue at the present time, to muddy the waters with fear-provoking statements. This is not needed in Canada.

Intelligent and rational debate means facing up to the facts on the issue of relations between English Canada and Quebec.

It is a fact that there are two national collectivities or nations in Canada. It is a fact that the Canadian constitution does not recognize this reality.

Quebec is clearly not a province like the others. It will never go along with proposals for a greater role for the federal government in planning the economy. And yet that it what is needed if Canada is to overcome regional under-development, unemployment and American economic control.

Our present federalism is a perfect arrangement for the continued domination of English Canada and Quebec by the United States, and the present governments want to keep it that way.

It is in the interest of both English Canada and Quebec to recognize the hopelessness of the present attempts to achieve a solution within the terms of the BNA Act.

We should begin a new relationship by establishing certain underlying principles. The relationship between English Canada and Quebec must be based on mutual free choice and not on the threat of force as it is at present. It is false to suggest that free choice exists now for Quebecers following the economic blackmail that was used during the last provincial election in Quebec, the general intimidation of the War Measures Act and the smear campaign during the recent municipal election in Montreal. Quebec and English Canada must have the right to limit their relationship or expand it depending on the democratic decisions of each people.

To describe this set of principles as support for separatism is to miss the point. I see such principles as essential if there is to be a fruitful alliance between English Canada and Quebec in the future. And such an alliance is essential if either nation is to survive in the face of U.S. domination.

I am confident that if we put aside our attachment to Liberal Party federalism which has resulted in mistrust between our two peoples, we can evolve a close and fruitful relationship with common political and economic institutions that will answer the mutual needs of the people in both English Canada and Quebec.

Le Devoir comments on the Waffle and Quebec

(Excerpts from a Le Devoir editorial article)

The rise of the Waffle group in the NDP has seriously compromised the somewhat self-righteous intellectual comfort of the old guard of the party. And fortunately so. This minority group, made up of perhaps one-quarter of active New Democrats, contains some of the most vigorous intellectuals in English Canada. It is fairly loosely constructed, both on the level of ideas and of political action.

The Waffle has undoubtedly breathed new life into the NDP. It is constantly reminding the wishy-washy, watered-down social democrats in the party, who would prefer to forget the Regina Manifesto, of the basic principles of democratic socialism; and reminding the party and the trade union establishment of the values of political involvement that make a party into something more than an election machine. To the implicit continentalism of those who, under the pretext of stressing social issues, ignore the national dimension of Canada's problems, Wafflers propose a progressive nationalism which is in their view a necessary condition for the establishment of socialism in a country dominated by foreign capital.

Now, through its spokesman Jim Laxer, candidate for the NDP leadership, the Waffle is questioning the party's official position on Quebec. That position is vague and has been politically unfortunate for the NDP. Two years ago, the New Democrats, who have always been centralizing federalists, vaguely began to talk about an as yet undefined "special status" for Quebec. It was easy for the Liberals to point out the constitutional ambiguities of such a position, with the result that NDP support decreased in English Canada without increasing in Quebec. It must be admitted that

their failure was deserved. The NDP old guard really has no alternative to Trudeau's federalism; and the Quebec wing of the party has avoided the question of Quebec nationalism, with the obvious result that Quebec socialists have supported the Parti Quebecois.

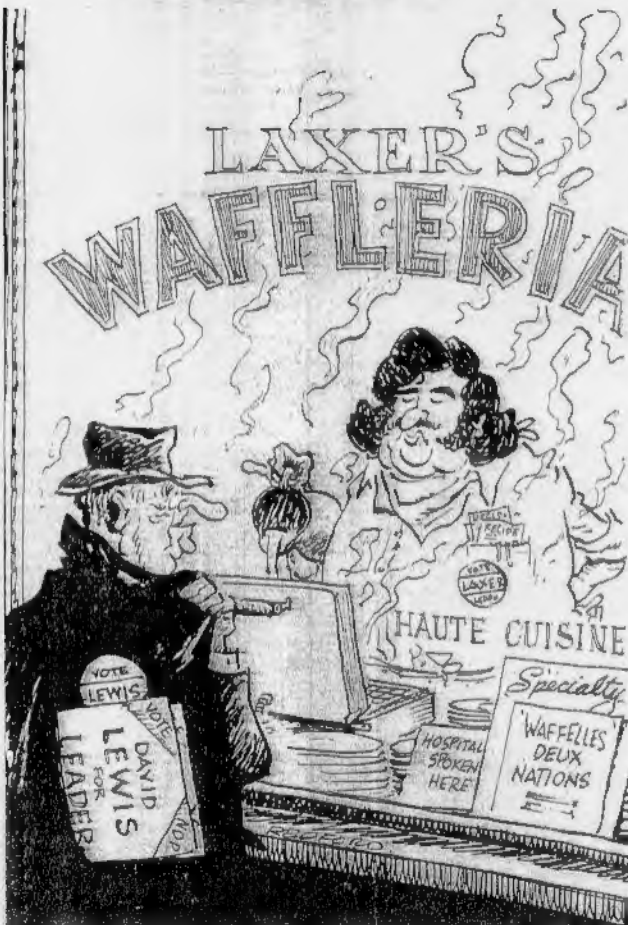
In the view of the Waffle candidate, the NDP should resist the temptation of proposing any solution for Quebec. After clearly recognizing Quebec's right to self-determination, the NDP should wait until Quebecers make their choice and support the majority.

This political strategy has the merit of being coherent and of taking into account better than any other position which has ever come out of English Canada the reality of Quebec nationalism. And certainly the present political strategy of the Quebec NDP, which attempts to win Quebecers over to a program that is both federalist and socialist, can never succeed.

More than ever before, Quebec needs a federal political movement that will contest the dry, puritan and anti-social doctrine of federalism that the Liberals want to force down the throats of Quebecers. To avoid disaster, to save what must be saved, a political program must be articulated that will permit the realization of the political aspirations of both nations in Canada. The Quebec NDP can help define, not the "solution" but the "action" Quebec needs on the federal level.

But to do so it will have to break out of its abstract and old-fashioned ideas about federalism. The suggestions outlined by Jim Laxer and the Waffle group could turn out to be the only way to maintain fraternal links and an intimate and fruitful co-operation between the two nations in Canada.

—CLAUDE LEMELIN



—Reidford, Globe & Mail

Awful Waffle?

Attorney General D. V. Heald was up to one of his favorite past-times when he visited Moose Jaw this week: Warning that the voting public should be aware of the "fact" that the Waffle has almost taken complete control of the provincial NDP.

Addressing a nominating convention of the Moose Jaw South Liberals, Mr. Heald said that it would be a mistake for anyone in this province to underestimate the degree of control the Wafflers have over the party.

It's the price the party is paying for Moose Jaw's Don Mitchell, being a candidate in the leadership race last year, he said.

We wonder what it is that makes politicians of the opposite stripe want to "warn" the public about the dangers of voting for someone (or some idea) that clearly states a position.

Without doubt the Waffle element in the New Democratic Party, not only in this province but across the nation, is making giant strides when it comes to being recognized.

But why should that bother politicians of other parties? We've asked this question before, and we wondered at the time if the Wafflers or any other politicians, had to worry about.

We think the people will make up their mind about that matter. Warnings from Mr. Heald and company (and even from NDP deputy leader David Lewis) to the effect that the Waffle will drag us all down to fire and brimstone, only fall on deaf ears if the people of the country are not now informed enough to make responsible choices when it comes to alternatives between the various party members.

For anyone interested enough to take the time to watch and listen, the Waffle group stands in the forefront of a move for a free and independent socialist Canada. They couldn't be more clear about anything than they are about that fact.

At least we know exactly where they stand and they have, for the first time in many a moon, given the people some clear-cut alternatives when they go to the polls.

—Editorial, Moose Jaw Times-Herald, February 20, 1971



ON THE PICKET LINE AT A NURSING HOME: Although women constitute a third of the total labor force, only 17 percent of women are unionized; they are frequently channelled into low-paying service jobs, and often receive less pay for the same work as men. Increasingly, women are organizing and demanding economic and other rights.

Why are the women asking for parity?

Over the past year and a half, groups of women in the NDP have tried to get structural changes leading towards equal participation of women in the policy-making bodies of the party.

At the same time, the quality of debate on this question has improved considerably, with an increasing number of party people recognizing the legitimacy of such structural demands. At the April convention, women will be organizing for change once again. This time, parity.

The basic argument supporting these initiatives is simple: the old system has not worked. The opportunity for women to run for office has existed since the founding of the CCF. There have been no rules in the constitution forbidding women to hold office. But few women have made it into the top council and executive positions of the party.

The reason for this is that real opportunity does not exist unless the conditions people operate under are equal and favorable. The conditions of women are not. The barriers to meaningful political participation for women are innumerable, including family and home responsibilities (even NDP men do not do their share of work in the home), the patronizing and discriminatory attitudes of men, the tradition of relegating women to secondary roles (organizing social activities, bake sales, secretarial work, fund-raising), and a general lack of encouragement and support.

Now we must ask ourselves: what kind of democracy is it that we support. Are we liberal democrats promoting the virtues of individual competition for electoral positions—theoretically open to all. Or are we socialist democrats with a genuine concern that all people participate on

a fair basis in the politics of their community and country.

In order to achieve real democratic involvement, we change the structures of your party to include people, whatever their situations, and not to exclude them because of their situations. This means creating advantages for those groups which are now disadvantaged, creating the structural flexibility that answers the real needs of women, thereby encouraging their full participation.

Parity is the goal, and structural change is the only way to begin moving towards that goal. When the positions are there, we will find the people to fill them, and once the people are there, new leaders and talents will emerge that we never dreamed existed. Structural change is a means, not an end, and we look forward to a time when we can put aside such demands and concerns because women will have achieved equality within our party.

Some people are saying that the demand for equality is a manoeuvre by left people in the party to get more representation. There can be no doubt that the demand for structural parity is a left-wing initiative, but we should be clear on one point. All people in a socialist party should vote for the policies they believe in, whether these policies be espoused by men or women.

Parity for women is one such policy. Once we have achieved that, then we must all vote for the women who stand for the things we believe in. Surely there are enough capable women in all streams of the party that we need have no fear that those elected will not accurately represent the real forces within the NDP.

Women's liberation is part of the fight for socialism

The struggle for women's liberation is a vital part of the struggle for socialism in Canada. The social, psychological and economic exploitation that women experience at all levels of society are rooted in a system which requires passive, obedient and low-paid workers in order to function.

This system is based on a family unit in which the husband is seen as "breadwinner" and the wife as his "helpmate." In the majority of Canadian families the male is almost totally responsible for the livelihood of his wife and children, and is thus severely limited in his ability to withhold his labor from the market. Within the family, the woman provides absolutely essential, but unpaid, services and labor.

Her economic dependence reinforces the passive characteristics she has been taught from childhood to exhibit. Because her identity is constantly defined in terms not of her worth, but of her husband, children, and material possessions, the woman is a prime target of consumer advertising. The family with this traditional division of roles is the ideal consumption unit in capitalist society.

There is, of course, a growing number of married women in the labor force in Canada. With the exception of the few women who can afford paid domestic help, such women do not escape their household duties.

They are expected instead to do two full-time jobs. Nor have the recent increases in female employment improved the position of women on the job.

Women, as a group, function as a large and cheap pool of unemployed labor. They are brought into the labor force when economic expansion requires it and forced out when they are no longer needed. For example, remember the role of women in industry during World War II.

The present unemployment situation is pressuring men to push women out of jobs. In retrenching programs, men are given preference. Many such programs only place women in traditional female occupations, and exclude them from higher-paying traditionally male occupations.

Women in the labor force occupy the lowest wage and occupational groups. In spite of equal-wage legislation, they are often paid less and receive fewer benefits than do men for performing the same job.

The vast majority of women are concentrated in the clerical and semi-skilled occupational categories. They are expected to perform the helper jobs—secretary to the boss, assistant to the dentist, nurse to the doctor, sales-clerk, etc.

Because society considers the mother primarily responsible for caring for children, and because day-care facilities in Canada are hopelessly inadequate, women find themselves in the position of being unable to fight for equal job opportunities.

Many choose part-time work which will permit them to spend time at home with their children, and work at lower wages than full-time workers and with no fringe benefits. The full-time work force suffers, these women suffer, and the employers make a larger profit.

Working women have been neglected by the trade union movement. While women constitute 30 per cent of the labor force in Canada, they constitute only 17 per cent of organized workers. As a result, in their role as wives, women are sometimes "anti-union." Often their only experience with their husband's union is in the absence of pay cheques during strike periods.

Many of the changes required with regard to women in the work force are obvious ones. Women must have equal access to jobs in all categories, equal pay for their work and paid maternity leave. They must be encouraged to become active in unions and to organize within them for women's rights.

But clearly equality in job opportunity is impossible without basic and far-reaching changes regarding women's role in society. We must insist on a fundamental revamping of an educational system that channels men and women into narrowly defined economic roles and life styles.

We need more effective and available means of contraception and abortion to give women real control over the function of child-bearing. Finally, we must rethink our traditional view that the care of children is exclusively the responsibility of the mother. The demand for co-operatively-run community and work-place day care centres assumes that the care of children should be seen as an important part of all social activities, that children would benefit greatly from increased contact with their peers and other adults, and that parents themselves should learn to enjoy and love other children.

The Politics of the Continental Resources Deal

JAMES LAXER

The Energy Poker Game



(excerpts)

In December 1969, J. U. Giesse, Canada's Minister of Energy, Mines and Resources, paid a visit to Washington. Following his lengthy discussions with (former) U.S. Interior Secretary Walter Hickel, Giesse made his now-famous observations in favor of a continental energy resources deal so that "people will benefit, and both countries will benefit. Irrespective of where the imaginary border goes."

Since that time there has been much speculation about what a continental energy resources deal would include and about whether, indeed, such a deal is imminent. The Canadian government has changed its emphasis from time to time since the first discussion of the energy deal. Negotiations on the subject have been proceeding, off and on, with the Americans, we are told. The issue has been clouded in uncertainty as to its content and, as with most vital political questions in Canada, there has been only faint-hearted debate on the subject among the politicians.

In its most basic terms, a continental energy resources deal means the creation of a free North American market in energy resources. Present ownership and marketing patterns would be guaranteed, a permanent existence, with the Canadian-American border erased in matters of energy resources. This means secure and permanent access by American industry to Canadian energy resources, and a guarantee that nothing would ever be done to interfere with that access whatever Canadian needs might become in the future. It involves a basic commitment by the Canadian government to regard this country's energy resources as continental resources, and to give up any plans it might have for the development of those energy resources outside the framework of American corporate and military interests.

Such a deal, which would begin with natural gas, oil, electric power, coal and nuclear energy, might eventually be extended to include water. Whether concluded as a package or more likely piecemeal, the deal has vast implications for the future of the Canadian people.

The proposed continental free market in energy resources is similar to policies pursued by our government in the past. It is the natural extension of such policies. Many will ask what is so remarkable about this further step toward integration of the Canadian and American economies. The difference is that with the energy deal we cross a threshold in our relations with the United States that will be extremely difficult to recross. The energy deal will affect the future scope of the Canadian economy and will have great impact on the number and kinds of jobs that will be available for Canadians in their own country. It will vitally affect our efforts to clean up

the Canadian environment and to protect the ecological system, particularly in the Canadian north. Furthermore, it will greatly increase the importance of Canada to the requirements of U.S. military security and economic power in the world.

As with previous moves to integrate our economy with that of the U.S., the Canadian government will justify the energy deal on the grounds that it will result in great economic benefits to Canadians. The experts will picture continental integration as the only route to jobs and prosperity for the Canadian people. Our government will be exultant that, at long last, it has secured complete access for Canadian energy resources to the world's largest market. Our government will consider no alternative development strategies and its pundits will brush aside the long-term implications of the energy deal.

(In Ottawa the only real debate on this question has centred around the percentage of foreign ownership of Canadian corporations.)

On July 27, 1970 the House of Commons committee on External Affairs and National Defence recommended that Canada move toward 51 per cent Canadian ownership of all corporations in the country. Within 24 hours of the proposal, the business community was howling its disapproval and the chairman of the commons committee, Ian Wahn, was expressing doubts. Wahn said the 51 per cent recommendation "may never be enacted — perhaps it wouldn't even be practical."

The important thing to understand in debates about whether the percentage of American ownership of Canadian corporations is reduced to be replaced with Canadian corporate ownership, is that it makes very little difference to the behavior of the firms. There is no doubt that given the present structure of the Canadian economy and given private ownership, of whatever nationality, resources producing corporations in Canada will seek a continental resources deal with the United States. Whether the companies are Canadian-owned or not, they will pursue policies which will lead to Canada's increased dependence on raw material exports, the effect of which will be to heighten the unemployment problem and to lead to a long term trend away from economic diversification of Canada's economy. Resource industries are immense profit-makers for their foreign owners but they provide few jobs. It is no accident that unemployment is typically higher in the extractive Canadian economy than in the more industrialized U.S. economy; an energy deal would heighten this tendency in the future.

The impending energy deal forces the Canadian people to face up to fundamental issues in contemplating their future course. It will mark a genuine parting of the ways for Canada. To resist the energy deal means breaking fundamentally with past social and economic developments in Canada. Canadian capitalists and their governments cannot avoid the energy deal because their whole history has led them to it. At this point in Canada it becomes clear that only socialism provides an alternative path that can lead us out of the political dependency and economic underdevelopment that is our fate under the present system.

Only through a strategy of using the resources in Canada to develop and diversify the Canadian economy can this country ensure all of its people jobs and control of their lives socially and politically. Only public ownership and public control of the resource industries can break us out of the pattern of dependency and comparative underdevelopment that has been endemic to Canada. Public ownership of the resource industries would place the key sector of our economy in the hands of the people. It would give Canadians the opportunity to master the skills necessary to run our economy and to develop it qualitatively in the interests of human well-being in Canada.

Canada could then industrialize in the resource producing areas, which have long been seen merely as sources of raw materials. The wealth that comes out of the ground in the countless Canadian mining towns would be channeled to diversifying the economy of the resource producing areas, so that people there could pursue a wide variety of activities and occupations.

And then we must come to terms with the environment itself. Mankind has need of the bounties of this planet for a long time to come. A resource policy that is geared to that future and not to immediate profit is essential, if we are to survive. We must work out ways of recycling resources that have already been taken from the ground. We must place a limit on certain kinds of mindless growth that gravely compromise the future of humanity.

The resource question touches all Canadians, individually and as a people. Following the Columbia River Treaty, critics said that such a thing must never be allowed to happen again. It is happening again on a much larger scale. This time the key political factor will be the extent of resistance to the deal before the event and the determination of Canadians not to recognize as legitimate the commitments that are about to be made in their name by the government.

The Reasons For Public Ownership

—By MEL WATKINS

As socialists, we have long advocated public ownership. We have done so for good reasons. These reasons make more sense today than ever before.

When the means of production were privately owned, it was quite possible for serious people to argue that power was diffused by the free markets.

But, it has been clear for a long time that private ownership really means that power is concentrated in the corporations. They decide the conditions of work, including whether there shall be work at all for some of us. They determine what goods will be available to us and at what prices.

The size of the corporation has been accompanied by the growth of unions and the expansion of "positive" government. This has taken off some of the roughest edges, but nothing more. The basic distribution of power has remained the same. A small corporate elite makes decisions and the rest of us are impotent.

As socialists we have understood this and have argued that public ownership was the only certain means to reduce the intolerable concentration of economic power.

In this century, corporate power has escalated as the corporation has grown vastly in size and geographic scope. Now we have global corporations richer and more powerful

than many of the countries within which they operate, and a handful of them dominate the economy of the "free world."

Those who call themselves socialists but argue that public ownership is no longer needed are profoundly out of touch with the realities of where power presently lies and the difficulty, if not impossibility, of changing that without changing ownership.

This has obvious implications for us as Canadians. No other country has fallen so completely under the dominance of foreign-based multi-national corporations as ours. It follows that we have the strongest case for using public ownership as the alternative to foreign, private ownership.

It is this message that we must carry to those many Canadians who value independence. If we do, we have a very real possibility of building a socialist Canada.

Instead of playing down our historic commitment to public ownership and pretending it no longer matters, we should be insisting on its necessity.

Consider the question of democratic decision-making at a time when more and more people refuse to accept the authoritarian nature of our present society. Not only is power presently concentrated in the hands of a small number of corporations, but within the

corporation power is concentrated in the hands of those at the top of a pyramid that has a very broad base.

That hierarchical structuring of power must be radically altered. The likelihood of the private corporation tolerating such an upheaval is, to say the least, improbable. Public ownership must be seen as a necessary condition for the democratization of the workplace.

To see the matter in this way is very different from arguing that public ownership is a sufficient condition for socialism. Indeed, it is not and we should have no hesitation in saying so. Legislating a change in ownership and doing nothing more is "socialism from the top down," and has proven to be anything but liberating and democratic. But for us as

socialists, this means not that we abandon public ownership, but that we recognise the absolute necessity of workers' control.

In one sense, then, we are saying that public ownership is necessary as a means to create models of democratic decision-making. But in a deeper sense what we are saying is that, out of the struggles of workers for the power to make decisions will come structures that, though we cannot definitively label them now, will certainly not be anything like the present structure of private ownership. Call it "socialism from the bottom up."

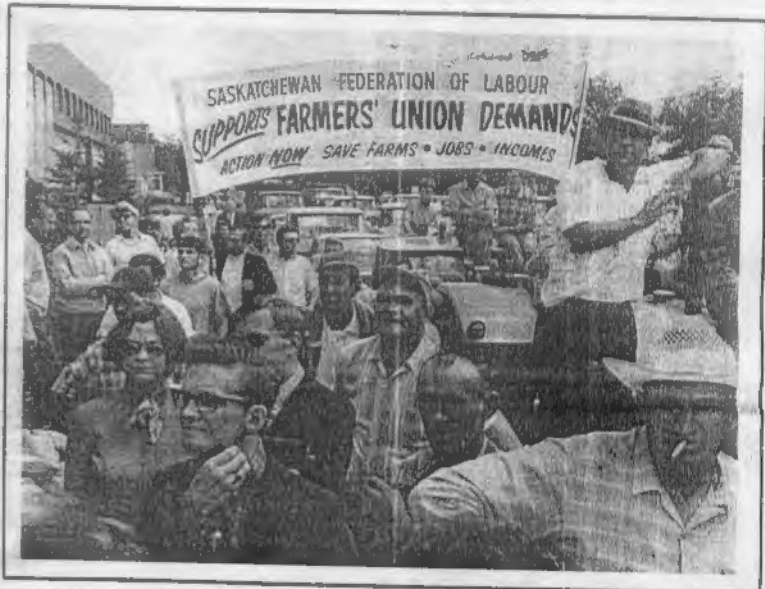
When we are asked why we advocate public ownership, we should say that it is that future we have in mind.

Finally, there is the matter

of compensating the private owners. The matter merits discussion if for no other reason than that costs of doing this are alleged by some to be such as to preclude public ownership. They exaggerate.

As a technical matter, what is involved in considerable part is replacing voting shares that pay dividends with bonds that yield a slower return and paying off the bonds out of the difference.

And while, as democratic socialists, we are committed to expropriation with compensation, particularly to small shareholders, we should not feel committed to capitalizing monopoly profits, nor to continuing the present maldistribution of wealth. To forget that would be to forget that we are socialists and risk rendering the exercise futile.



WAFFLE NEWS

Material for this tabloid was edited by Krista Mesnick. Please address inquiries, comments, or criticisms to her not to 509 Macdonnell Street, Apartment 4, Kingston, Ontario.

Anyone wishing to make a financial contribution to Jim Loxer's campaign for the NDP leadership, address cheques or money orders to:

WAFFLE LEADERSHIP CAMPAIGN, 66 Cassandra Blvd., Apt. 3, Don Mills, Ontario.

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The Choice Facing The NDP

—By LORNE BROWN

At the 1971 convention New Democrats will be faced with a choice of whether the NDP is to become a liberal-reform or a socialist party.

The NDP, unlike the Liberal and Conservative parties, depends for its support and financing upon trade unionists, farmers, unorganised workers, students and the other occupational groups who comprise the ordinary people of Canada. We are not financed by big business and, therefore, need not be enslaved to the idea that capitalism must be preserved though it means sacrificing the economic interests of the great majority of our people and the end of Canada as an independent nation.

What has made the NDP distinct from other parties in this country is that many of us have considered it more than a party designed to gain parliamentary power for its own sake or for the sake of its leaders.

We have looked upon the NDP as one part of a movement dedicated to achieving basic social change and leading eventually to the destruction of the existing capitalist system and its replacement by a socialist society. To settle for anything less would be a betrayal of ourselves and all those who have dedicated their lives to the struggle for socialism.

Those who are trying to turn the NDP into a liberal reform party are operating on the doubtful assumption that the party will gain widespread electoral support if it can only purge itself of radical ideas and assure the Establishment that it will not threaten existing property relationships but will be content to make the existing system slightly more humane.

People who think this way are merely playing "image" politics and it is a game which the Liberals and Conservatives will always win by means of money, advertising and charismatic leadership.

And what would we gain if an NDP government was elected by those methods? The NDP might be in office but it would not govern in any meaningful sense.

We have already witnessed the sorry spectacle of the late Labor government in Great Britain, which achieved parliamentary power on a liberal program and then was forced by the vested interests to be more capitalist than the capitalists by passing anti-trade union and racist legislation, and supporting

the American war of aggression in Vietnam.

That government went down to a resounding and well-deserved defeat when millions of working people stayed home rather than going out to vote because they were offered no meaningful choice.

We have seen the NDP move increasingly in the direction of a liberal reform party which no longer offers any basic challenge to the status quo. This has not been a recent development but began in the old CCF as early as the late 1940s when the Cold War and the prosperity it engendered convinced many social democrats that capitalism actually works.

We are seeing for whom it works in Canada this winter with hundreds of thousands unemployed, millions more employed at poverty-level wages, farmers faced with bankruptcy and the federal government resorting to dictatorial measures to stifle dissent in Quebec and elsewhere.

The social democrats who insist that capitalism works for the majority argue that public ownership is old-fashioned and has been made obsolete by economic planning and government controls. These people ignore the obvious relationship between economic and political power.

While the great bulk of the industry and resources of Canada are held in private hands any economic planning and government control will be done in the interests of the corporations and not the people. It is true that public ownership by itself will not solve all of our problems but it is a prerequisite to building a democratic society.

People who argue that the people can control the economy in their own interests without owning it are either deluding themselves or attempting to sell us a bill of goods! Or perhaps they are attempting to convince the Establishment that they can be trusted to manage the system?

If we are to make the NDP relevant in the 1970s this convention must adopt an unequivocally socialist program. In addition, we must continue to build the movement toward a socialist society through extra-parliamentary means, clearly recognizing that parliamentary power by itself is not real peoples' power. Socialism is not built by leaders but by the collective efforts of trade unionists, farmers, and other progressive people.

A movement is growing...



Trudeau says unemployment regrettable but necessary



*Unless we respond it will
pass our party by*

Plain Answers (To Common Questions)

1. "Why is the Waffle called the Waffle?"

On April 29, 1969, 11 members of the New Democratic Party gathered informally in Toronto to talk of their general concern that the party was losing touch with the need to struggle for socialism in Canada.

Other meetings followed and during one discussion on nationaliza-

tion, a lukewarm and hedging stand on this issue came under heavy fire. Someone arguing for a stronger position commented:

"If we're going to waffle, I'd rather waffle to the left than waffle to the right."

So be it.

2. "Is the Waffle 'a party within a party'?"

The Waffle is a collection of members of the NDP who want to move the party left in its policies and strategies. All of its meetings are open to all NDP members.

Wafflers have accepted the basic socialist principle that in order to achieve change you must organize people around your goals. We

organize—or try to. So do tenants, welfare recipients, women's liberationists, workers, and party caucus members. We all know that numbers and hearty organization make the difference.

We sign people up allright—but for the NDP, not the Waffle

3. "Are Wafflers anti-American?"

Wafflers have strongly opposed the American corporate system and American imperialism in Canada and around the world. Many, many Americans also oppose this system and are our allies in the world-wide struggle for self-determination and socialism for all peoples.

Some say we blame the American business elites instead of

Canadian capitalists and politicians for the sell-out of our industries and resources. We make no such distinctions. They are all bagmen for the same multi-national and national corporations that are sucking up profits from the hard labors of millions and millions of workers—American and Canadian.

4. "Why independence and socialism, rather than one or the other?"

We can't have national independence without socialism in Canada. Our political and business elites are too well integrated into the continental "free enterprise" system.

We can't have any kind of meaningful independence for the mass of people in Canada without socialism, for it is socialism that gives us

the tools to shape our economic, political and social life to the benefit of us all.

And we can't talk about socialism without also talking about independence, because, in Canada, the two struggles must go hand in hand, dominated as we are by huge multi-national corporations and their local apologists.

5. "Is public ownership really necessary to control the economy?"

We know that private corporations and their political representatives make use of people as commodities to pursue their goals of profits and power. And when it suits their purpose to lay off hundreds of thousands of people to cool off their economic system, then that is what is done. We know that this corporate system does not stop at national boundaries, but that it is an international phenomenon.

Public ownership is not a panacea, but it is a starting point, allowing us to come to grips with the problems of providing jobs and distributing wealth justly, allowing us to work toward the control of the industrial system by those who work within it, allowing us to begin to tackle the problems of bureaucracy and centralization.

We are talking about a redistribution of power in this country, from the corporations to the people, and the fact is that we cannot acquire control from those who now hold it in a sleight of hand (minor regulations and restrictions) so that the corporations will not notice that they have lost it. The men who run Imperial Oil, General Motors and Inco know that they have the power, and they will not give it up because we are polite about it.

Finally, public ownership of key sectors of the economy is not a utopian solution. Its practicality has been demonstrated in many countries, most recently in Chile.

6. *Is it not the case that the socialist movement is building*

Women have learned by experience that their needs and demands will not be recognized even within a socialist movement, unless the women are organized to formulate and fight for the necessary changes in policies, practices and priorities.

The struggle for the liberation of women should be an essential part of the socialist struggle for the liberation of all human kind. The battles of a people who are rebelling against discrimination and exploitation should find expression within the context of the common struggle.

The extent to which they do is an indication of the strength of the socialist movement we are building.

Some say that women's liberation creates internal frictions that distract our attention from the real enemies. But we forget that we ourselves have been brought up in a discriminatory and exploitative system, and that we have accepted some of the attitudes and practices of that system. We are not really fighting unless we are also fighting the "enemies within ourselves."

7. *"Won't we lose electoral strength if we 'tell it like it is'?"*

The potential strength of the NDP lies with the numerical power of the millions of exploited, not the financial and coercive power of the exploiters.

Building a mass base of support for socialism is a slow process. Election battles can be a crucial part of that process. But we must not neglect the grass roots organizing work that has to go from day to day and year to year. We must not tone down the truth to make it look better on the back page of a glossy brochure. We must not join the establishment parties in their attempts to redistribute power vaca-

while not challenging the economic position of the corporate barons.

Socialism cannot be smuggled in through the back doors of parliament or it will be booted out the same way it came in.

As for those in the party who disagree with us and like to fancy themselves as moderates, let them heed the words of an old timer from Saskatchewan who wrote us last February:

"Either they know the face of the enemy better than I do," he wrote, "or they don't. If so they should say so and say 'You are licked lay down and have rings put in your noses!'"

ONTARIO WAFFLE GROUP IN THE NDP - PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE - FEB. 11-13

McMASTER UNIVERSITY, HAMILTON

AGENDA

FRIDAY FEB. 11th:

6-8 P.M. Registration

8:30 P.M. Opening Session
"The Developing Working Class and National Struggle in Quebec"

Speakers

Brother Raymond Laliberte Pres. Quebec N.D.P.
A Representative of the Quebec Teachers Corporation
A Representative of the La Presse Workers

Saturday Feb. 12th

9-10 A.M. Registration

10 A.M. - 12 noon "A Strategic Overview for the Waffle in the Coming Period"

Speakers

Jim Laxer - East Metro Toronto Waffle	Bill Walsh - Hamilton Waffle
Jean Usher - Ottawa Waffle	Mel Watkins - West Metro Waffle
Andy Wernick - Peterborough Waffle	

12 - 1:30 P.M. Lunch Break

1:30 - 3:00 P.M. <u>Workshops</u>	<u>Resource People</u>
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- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. "The Coming Federal Election" | Bill Temple, John Smart & Richard Comber |
| 2. "Resources and Auto Industry Campaign" | Jim Tester, Elie Prepas & Dale O'Dell |
| 3. "Socialist Strategy at the Local Level" | Varda Kidd, Henry Dorst & Ann Morrison |

3:30 - 5:00 P.M. Plenary Session

"The Role of the Waffle in the Organized Labour Movement"

Speakers

Harry Greenwood - Hamilton Waffle & United Steel Workers, Lcl. 1005
Pat Kress - Oshawa Waffle & U.A.W. Lcl. 199
George Gilks - Hamilton Waffle & United Steel Workers Lcl. 1005

Discussion Period

5:00 - 7:00 P.M. Super Break

7 - 8:30 P.M. Plenary Session

"The Role of the Waffle in the Movement for Women's Liberation"

Speakers

Jackie Larkin - West Metro Waffle
Naomi Lyons - North Metro Waffle

Pat Smart - Ottawa Waffle
Marg Clark - Toronto

Discussion Period

8:30 P.M. Gwen Taylor, a representative of the Ontario Women's Abortion
Law Repeal Coalition will address the conference

8:45 - 10:15 P.M. Plenary Session

"Culture and the Media in the Struggle for an Independent Socialist Canada"

Speakers

Robbin Mathews - Ottawa Waffle
John McMurtry - Guelph Waffle
Patrick Mc Fadden - Toronto Journalist & Broadcaster

10:30 P.M. Social Gathering

Sunday Feb. 13th

10:30 A.M. - 12 noon

Workshops

Resource People

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Organizational Work in Trade Unions | Cece Taylor, Al Campbell & Rae Murphy |
| 2. " " " Schools & Universities | Ed Bazalinsky, P. Middleton, B. Weisler |
| 3. " " " Immigrants Organizations | D. Pagninni, Frank Pinto, J. Amico |
| 4. " " " Women's Liberation | Carol Peterson, Doris Jantzi &
Naomi Lyons |

12:00 noon - 1:00 P.M. Lunch Break

1:00 - 1:15 Address by a representative of the Toronto Gay Liberation Movement

1:15 - Closing Closing Plenary

This session will be devoted to discussions and resolutions on organizational matters of the Ontario Waffle and resolutions arising out of the proceedings of the conference.

Chairman - Bill Walsh



CANDIDATS NEODEMOCRATES: Les cinq aspirants à la chefferie, Nouveau parti démocratique tiennent leur dernière assemblée générale à Ottawa le mois dernier. Les candidats sont (de gauche à droite) M. Ed Broadbent, membre de la Chambre des communes (Oshawa-Whitby); M. James Laxer, maître de conférence de l'université Queens; Mlle Eileen Scollon, présidente de l'Assemblée; M. John Harney, chef de la Chambre des communes (York Sud); M. David Lewis, membre de la Chambre des communes (Skeena); et

APRIL 1971
109

For an INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST CANADA

Resolutions prepared by

THE WAFFLE MOVEMENT IN THE NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY

for the consideration of

RIDING ASSOCIATIONS

AFFILIATED UNION LOCALS

and

YOUTH CLUBS

for the

FEDERAL CONVENTION OF THE NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Ottawa
April 1971

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~~Waffle~~
1971

THE ONTARIO WAFFLE
P.O. Box 339, Station E
Toronto, Ontario

Dear Waffler:

This fall the Ontario Waffle group is undertaking a broad and exciting political programme to deepen the struggle for an independent socialist Canada.

At the request of the striking union, the Waffle Labour Committee and other Wafflers are involved in the Texpack strike at Brantford. We are organizing help on the picket line, demonstrations, and meeting to support the strikers.

The Waffle Labour Committee is also organizing discussions aimed at hammering out a socialist program of action for Canadian trade unionists. We expect to publicize this program during the upcoming convention of the Ontario Federation of Labour. Our intention is to take a Socialist perspective into the Ontario labour movement.

The resources committee of the Ontario Waffle is launching a major campaign on the whole area of resources and unemployment. The campaign will be directed at the people of Ontario. It will be in high gear by the beginning of October. In the campaign, we will be calling for public ownership of Canada's resource industries; and for an end to the energy deal with the United States. We will be fighting unemployment and the closure of plants that could be kept open if Canadian resources were processed in Canada. We will be exposing the role of Canadian corporations in exploiting the resources of other countries, especially in Latin America and the West Indies.

This broad anti-imperialist and socialist campaign will involve meetings with NDP riding associations, trade unionists, farmers, community organizations, and students and professionals. We will supply literature and speakers to any groups that are interested in our campaign. The enclosed supplement of the *Land Post* on the resources call-out was prepared by the Waffle resources committee. The supplement is available in bulk from the Waffle for seven cents a copy, or seven dollars a hundred.

We are at the moment preparing for a much needed Ontario-wide conference of the Waffle, following the provincial election. Wafflers are also involved in communications efforts, including consideration of beginning a regular mass distribution newspaper and a newspaper for distribution at entrances to the Toronto subway. Our struggle to win the whole of the NDP to a socialist position goes on.

At this moment, Wafflers are of course working hard in the various ridings on behalf of NDP candidates in the Ontario elections.

At the same time as the Ontario Waffle is continuing its provincial activities we are supporting national activities as well. We must contribute to putting out our national newsletter, "The Waffle News". If a meeting of the Waffle National Steering Committee is to be held in the next few months as people in many parts of the country would like, Ontario wafflers will have to contribute to travel costs for the meeting.

Over the past two years, the Waffle has shown that it can make an important contribution to the struggle for independence and socialism. Our present programme of activities furthers that struggle.

Re: Ontario Waffle
1971

It is obvious that such activities require mass participation and considerable financial resources. We are now in the position where each campaign of the Waffle is dependent on ad hoc funding arrangements. This seriously limits our ability to mobilize Wafflers to contribute to the struggle.

Only regular financial contributions from Wafflers can put us on the financial basis to pursue our campaigns effectively. We are asking you to contribute to such a fund. We know the burdens of left people are considerable in terms of financial appeals. But we believe the programme we are undertaking is of critical importance. We urge you to contribute a percentage of your income to the Waffle on a regular monthly basis.

A suggested schedule would be:

up to \$6,000 - 1%
\$6 - 10,000 - 2%
\$10 - 20,000 - 3%
\$20,000 & over - 4%

For your convenience we have enclosed 12 post-dated cheques or you can use your own personal cheques, which should be made payable to "The Ontario Waffle". Our target in the present financial appeal is \$10,000.

Please consider carefully the importance of this appeal. Let us continue the struggle for an independent, socialist Canada.

Fraternally,

Mel Watkins
Jim Laxer
Steve Penner
Bill Walsh
Harry Greenwood
Al Campbell
John Smart
Fay Bender
Melody Corrigan

for the Ontario Steering
Committee

(Found in 1971)

SOCIALISTS AND THE CRISIS IN OUR ECONOMY

TORONTO WAFFLE MEETING AND WORKSHOP

SPEAKER: MEL WATKINS

PROPOSALS FOR ACTION:

ORGANISING THE UNEMPLOYED

Bill Cumsy (ex-secretary; Manitoba N.D.P.)

A NATIONAL CAMPAIGN FOR A CANADIAN RESOURCES POLICY

Gord Cleveland (Secretary; Ontario N.D.P.)

THE FIGHT AGAINST SHUTDOWNS

-FROM DUNLOP TO JOHNSON AND MALLORY

Steve Penner (Community Organizer)

There has been a lively debate in the Waffle on the relative emphasis we should be giving to electoral politics and extra-parliamentary action. While our last general meeting did not resolve these differences it was generally agreed that a real test of the Waffle would be its ability to bring together both tendencies in one movement. A socialist society cannot simply be legislated into existence; it must be built on a strong base of radical social movements.

We have discussed the theory of extra-parliamentary action at length. A number of us have been involved in community groups as individuals. It is time that we began to find effective ways for the Waffle to engage itself in significant areas of social action. At next Monday's meeting several proposals for action will be put forward outlining areas in which the Waffle is already beginning to become involved. New proposals are also welcome. The key question is how many people are willing to do the work?

We need not only organizers but people to do a variety of important jobs such as telephoning, putting out a newspaper, fund raising etc. etc.

If you can help in any way it is important that you attend this meeting. We need people to do organizing, leafleting, telephoning, fund raising, to work on a newspaper etc. etc. If you cannot come to this meeting but would like to help please phone Steve Penner at 249-5814.

IF YOU CAN'T DO IT WHO WILL?

BATHURST ST UNITED CHURCH

one block south of Bloor

MONDAY *July 6*
JUNE 29

8:00 P. M. SHARP!



Welcome delegates Ontario Federation of Labour



WAFFLE LABOUR NEWS

- CONVENTION SPECIAL -

The election

What happened?

When John Roberts stepped down as leader of the Tories his party was in serious trouble with the electorate. High unemployment, inflation, the Dunlop plant shutdown, the American takeover of Ryerson and Gage Textbook publishing companies, Stanley Randall's "forgivable" loans and fire-sale approach to selling our resources, Bill 167 — these and a score of other factors made the re-election of a Conservative majority government seem only a remote possibility.

Even at the beginning of the election campaign the NDP was still confident that it could win a great deal of new support from voters who were tired of 25 years of Tory Rule. The voters did respond to the "It's time for a change" theme. The problem is that Bill Davis was able to convince them that he represented change and that with his "new" leadership the reactionary Tory rule of Ontario had ended.

Stephen Lewis and the NDP's campaign committee decided to fight the Conservatives on the issue of leadership. One recalls the title of two of the articles in the slick 16 page magazine put out as the party's main election

leaflet "Resourceful, efficient and concerned: the NDP teams puts it all together" and "Stephen Lewis, Ontario's Been Waiting a Long Time."

As June Callwood pointed out in the latter article, Stephen saw one of the major problems of the campaign as assuring voters who resist change that the product is safe and even pleasant. She assured us that "Stephen Lewis is a fully accredited moderate." So moderate that the Globe and Mail editorially accused Robert Nixon of becoming more radical than Lewis in the last weeks of the campaign.

The NDP "product" was so "safe and pleasant" that the magazine gives more emphasis to issues that have the most middle class appeal — pollution, urban problems, high government spending — than it does to unemployment, plant shut-downs or other labour issues. Nowhere is our party's connection with labour mentioned none of the articles are by or about trade unionists, Bill 167 is completely ignored.

The NDP's attempt to win middle class votes was crushed in the rush to

(Continued on Page 3)

Waffle labour caucus

At a press conference on Thursday, October 28 the Waffle labour caucus was launched publicly. Harry Greenwood, secretary of Local 1003 of the United Steelworkers, presented the statement of the labour caucus, a socialist program for trade unionists.

The statement called for a complete reorientation of the labour movement to deal with the grave economic situation now facing working people in Canada.

The right wing establishment in the trade union movement leads us off the fields of battle. They have failed to mobilize our movement in the fight against the corporations. They have attempted to replace rank and file militancy with bureaucracy. They have tried to substitute submissions to the government for industrial action. Our task is to revitalize the labour movement by mobilizing for rank and file control.

The Waffle labour statement calls for action by the labour movement to confront the layoffs and shutdowns that plague our branch plant economy. The statement stresses the need for Canadian workers to achieve complete control of their own trade union movement.

The statement of the labour caucus calls for immediate mobilization of trade unionists to fight the idea of wage controls for Canada, pointing out that the present labour leadership has left this fight perilously late if we are to avoid the American experience.

At the press conference launching the Waffle labour caucus, Greenwood announced that the caucus will function at the Ontario Federation of Labour convention. The caucus will

give support to resolutions calling for a fundamental change of direction for the labour movement.

Each day of the OFL convention the Waffle labour caucus will hold meetings open to all OFL delegates to discuss strategy at the convention.

We invite you to attend the meetings to find out where we stand.

CAUCUS MEETINGS

Sunday, October 31

at 9:30 p.m. in the
QUEBEC ROOM
at the Royal York

Monday, November 1

at 9:00 p.m. in the
ALBERTA ROOM
at the Royal York

Tuesday, November 2

at 8:00 p.m. in the
ALBERTA ROOM
at the Royal York

During the Convention

**Visit the Waffle Hospitality
Suite at the Royal York**



Nixonomics

A strategy for Ontario labour

U.S. President Nixon's economic bombshells of the past two months have opened up a new era within the capitalist world. The effects of new American policies on Canada will be fundamental and will force the labour movement to adapt its strategy to this radically altered situation.

Nixon's economic moves affect Canada in a highly selective fashion. The policy is pressing Canada into the economic mould designed for her within the American empire—that of resource base and secure consumer market for American business. The ten percent surcharge and recent legislation designed to encourage American companies to export from the U.S. and to cut back production abroad will strike a serious blow at Canadian manufacturing. These moves however will not affect the export of Canadian raw materials to the United States.

The effect of the Nixon moves on Canada should be seen as one single aspect of the American effort to rationalize the position of the United States within the capitalist world. While it is clear that the American moves were designed primarily to deal with the emerging industrial economies of Western Europe and Japan, no country will be more greatly affected by them than Canada.

Since the new Nixon policies were launched the Canadian government has been desperately attempting to come up with a policy to deal with them. Ninety-six hours after Nixon's television broadcast announcing the changes, two Canadian cabinet ministers were in Washington begging for exemptions from U.S. Secretary of the Treasury Connally. This pilgrimage achieved no results though, and the Trudeau government tried instead to deal with the crisis through tax cuts and public spending.

The seven per cent cut in corporation taxes and three per cent cut in the personal income tax, combined with a half billion dollar public works program, is the Trudeau government's answer to the economic crisis.

But the Trudeau program will not prevent unemployment from climbing this winter to an even more disastrous high. The government is not dealing

with the central aspects of the American challenge and has evolved no policies to assure a secure economic future for Canadians. That must be the task of the labour movement if it is to serve the interests of working people in facing the economic crisis. Labour will be forced to deal with the threat of wage controls at the same time as it faces the next steps in the American takeover of the Canadian economy.

Two significant steps remain before the economic reduction of Canada is complete: the conclusion of long term agreements to achieve complete American security of access to Canadian resources and the removal of all remaining barriers to the sale of American manufactured goods in Canada.

The agenda for the next year in the continuing American takeover of Canada is clear: the conclusion of further steps toward the completion of the continental energy resources deal between Canada and the United States and the removal of the protective clauses for Canada in the Canada-U.S. auto-pact.

The continental energy deal is already underway. In September of 1970 the Canadian government agreed to the sale of 6.3 trillion cubic feet of natural gas, worth about two billion dollars to the United States. The export will take place over the next fifteen to twenty years. Two months after that sale cabinet-level talks between the Canadian and American governments took place in Ottawa about the possibility of a wide open market for Canadian oil in the United States.

In its most basic terms, a continental energy resources deal means the creation of a free North American market in energy resources. Free ownership and marketing patterns would be guaranteed a permanent existence with the Canadian-American border erased in matters of energy resources. This means secure and permanent access by American industry to Canadian energy resources and a guarantee that nothing would ever be done to interfere with that access whatever Canadian needs might be in the future. It involves a basic

(Continued on Page 2)

A fight back strategy

(Continued from Page 1)

commitment by the Canadian government to regard this country's energy resources as continental resources, and to give up any plans it might have for the development of those energy resources outside the framework of American corporate and military interests.

Such a deal, already begun with natural gas, is soon intended to cover oil, electric power, coal, nuclear energy and eventually fresh water.

Energy Minister, J. J. Greene likes to picture the sale of our energy resources to the United States as job-creating development ventures. Following the gas sale Greene met the press with the statement that the deal would lead to the creation of 13,000 man-years of jobs, which translated into English means 13,000 jobs for one year. All of these jobs will be in construction of the pipelines, and once construction is completed, the jobs will disappear.

Foolishly, we in Canada are hitching our prices in energy fuels to the United States. The natural gas sale in September 1970 fixed a differential of five per cent between the domestic and export prices of natural gas. This ties our price to the rapidly rising American price, threatening higher costs for people who use gas to heat their homes and for industries and utilities that wish to use natural gas. So threatening is this development that gas distributors in Ontario have begun to oppose further exports, warning that if a halt is not made natural gas will be priced out of large sections of the Ontario market.

The U.S. government has made it clear over the past two years that it favours a full scale continental energy

clauses for Canada in the Canada-U.S. auto pact. This involves a critical frontal attack on the position of Ontario industry.

The auto industry is central to employment in the entire manufacturing sector of the Canadian economy. More than 50,000 Canadians are directly involved in the assembling of automobiles in Canada. This aspect of the industry alone accounts for nearly \$500 million being pumped into the Canadian economy in wages. The auto parts industry employs about 140,000 people in Canada. Other Canadians directly affected by the well-being of the auto industry are service station operators, car dealers, producers of car radios and workers in the rubber industry, the steel industry and the petroleum industry.

If the U.S. abrogates the auto pact, the Canadian government should nationalize our auto industry to produce a Canadian auto for the Canadian market under public ownership.

The Canada-U.S. Auto Pact was initiated in 1965 as a means of rationalizing the North American automobile industry. It sought ultimate free trade in auto assembly and auto parts. One continental auto market, serviced by giant American producers was the vision. It meant that Canadian auto plants would not be geared to producing for the Canadian market. Instead they would produce for segments of the entire North American market. The pact was rightly condemned by many as a step toward a fully integrated continental economy.

The Auto Pact did however, contain safeguards for Canadian auto production, which were to be removed at some indeterminate date in the future. The safeguards were as follows:

(1) The maintenance of a ratio between vehicles produced in Canada and vehicles sold in Canada of at least 75 to 100, similar to that which existed in 1964.

(2) The stipulation that Canadian value-added should not fall below the absolute dollar value achieved in the 1964 model year.

A third safeguard came in the form of an agreement, not between the two governments but between Canada and the four U.S. auto corporations. This came in the form of letters of commitment from the four manufacturers to raise Canadian value-added by an amount equal to 60 per cent of the growth in the Canadian market and beyond that, by \$260 million. The terms of this agreement, purchased by the government with a \$100 million tax concession to the auto producers were met by the end of the 1968 model year. According to the terms of the pact, the entire agreement can be abrogated by either country on one year's notice.

The Auto Pact was undertaken partly because by the early 1960s Canada's position as an auto producer was so precarious that if the situation were not changed, drastic national solutions to the problems would have to be considered. In 1964 Canadians bought 75 per cent of the automobiles in North America while they manufactured only four per cent. In 1965 the United States enjoyed a \$768 million surplus in auto trading with Canada.

This condition of the Canadian auto industry in 1964 is striking proof, for those who need it, that foreign ownership does not bring efficiency and competitiveness with it. After all, the Canadian auto industry was 100 per cent foreign owned, and yet it was so uncompetitive that it couldn't maintain control of its own domestic market, let alone export its products.

Had the Auto Pact not emerged, Canada would have been forced to take protective steps to guarantee the preservation of Canada's market for the sale of automobiles produced in Canada. Considering that the auto in-

dustry in this country is entirely foreign owned, there would have been long term pressure in favour of the production of a Canadian car, either with government assistance or under public ownership.

The auto pact had the effect of preventing such pressure for Canadians to emulate the Swedes and other Europeans who have produced their own automobiles. While the Auto Pact has maintained a continental market for the American producers, it still has not worked to produce sufficient continental integration to make the Americans happy.

The Auto Pact has greatly increased the export of assembled automobiles and auto parts from Canada to the United States. In 1970 Canada enjoyed a surplus in the automobile trade with the United States for the first time ever. (The U.S. and Canada disagree sharply on the figures, with the U.S. claiming a large Canadian surplus, while Canada claims a small deficit. Most financial analysts believe Canada enjoyed a moderate surplus in 1970.)



U.S. Treasury Secretary John Connally.

The surplus was in part accidental. The American auto manufacturers tended to concentrate in their Canadian plants the models that happened to be most successful in the market place.

Several weeks ago Prime Minister Trudeau revealed the dangerous course our government is embarked on when he refused to guarantee that Canada would not bargain away the protective clauses in the auto pact. The government has approached the question of the auto pact with incredible bungling and political ineptitude. Every year, since 1966, the Auditor General's report has contained a criticism of the government for its failure to set up proper administrative machinery to deal with the auto pact. The Auditor General makes it clear that the government does not even have a clear idea what quantity of automobiles and auto parts have been imported into Canada.

Instead of talking about bargaining away the protective clauses in the auto pact, the government should be calling for an upward revision of the targets for Canadian production in the pact's safeguards to guarantee jobs for Canadian workers.

Should the U.S. then wish to abrogate the auto pact, the Canadian government should prepare to rationalize our auto industry to produce a Canadian auto for the Canadian market, under public ownership. This would guarantee the jobs of Canadian workers.

The alternative to this will be disaster for Canadian workers. The layoffs of 2,000 workers by General Motors several weeks ago will be only the beginning if we continue on our present course.

The energy deal and the attack on Canadian manufacturing concretizes the politics of anti-imperialism in this country. It now becomes clear that the dependency of Canada leads not to a quieter life in our corner of the world, but to a transformation of the environment itself, which turns our country

into a giant supplier for the industrial system of the United States.

The stark threat which faces Canadians makes the political expressions which we have had in our national politics largely irrelevant. A new Canada and a new Canadian politics will be borne out of the struggle that must be joined to make possible a society in Canada in which our resources serve people both at home and abroad and in which the people who work in the industries of the country determine the direction of the economy and receive its benefits.

The impending energy deal, forces the Canadian people to face up to fundamentals in contemplating their future course. It will mark a genuine parting of the ways for Canada. To resist the energy deal means breaking fundamentally with past social and economic developments in Canada. Canadian capitalists and their governments cannot avoid the energy deal because their whole history has led them to it. At this point in Canada it becomes clear that only socialism provides an alternative path than can lead us out of the political dependency and economic underdevelopment that is our fate under the present system. And only the working class led by a radical labour movement can successfully lead the Canadian people to independence and socialism.

Only through a strategy of using the resources in Canada to develop and diversify the Canadian economy can this country ensure all of its people jobs and control of their lives socially and politically. Surpluses of resources in Canada should be exported only after the resource needs for this kind of strategy have been amply planned for.

Only public ownership of the resource industries can break us out of the pattern of dependency and comparative underdevelopment that has been endemic to Canada. Repatriation of the Canadian economy should begin at its centre — the resource sector. Through public ownership of the resource industries we will take the key sector of our economy into our own hands. It will give us the opportunity to master the skills necessary to run our economy and to develop it qualitatively in the interests of human well-being.

We can then industrialize in the resource-producing areas, which have long been seen as sources of raw materials. The wealth that comes out of the ground in the countless Canadian mining towns would be channelled to diversify the economy of the resource producing areas so that people there could pursue a wide variety of activities and occupations.

The energy deal and the fate of the auto pact make it clear that if Canadian workers are to defend their jobs, their organizations alone can be counted on. It would be folly to imagine that the AFL-CIO which supports Nixon's drive to move jobs from the branch plants to the U.S. will stand up for the interests of Canadian workers. The current crisis forces the Canadian labour movement to take steps toward complete mastery in its own house.



Finance Minister Edgar Benson.

deal and that in return for opening up American markets to Canadian energy resources, Canada would be expected to purchase more manufactured goods from the U.S.

The proof that this is no idle or abstract point became clear following the oil talks in Ottawa in November 1970. Mitchell Sharp, Canada's Minister of External Affairs said that if the United States was willing to remove import restrictions on Canadian oil, Canada should consider allowing the last protective clauses for Canada in the Canada-U.S. auto pact to be abrogated. This statement reveals that the government is willing to countenance plant shutdowns and layoffs in the industrial sector of our economy in order to achieve access for our raw materials to the U.S. market.

This is a strategy for turning Canada into a permanent resource hinterland of the United States, a country bound to be economically and politically dependent. And because there are many more jobs in processing and manufacturing resources than in exporting them, Canada will become a country that will always have a high level of unemployment built into its economic structure.

Since the Nixon policies were announced in mid-August, there has been mounting pressure from Washington for the abrogation of the protective

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Aircraft workers

Fighting Nixon's wage freeze in Canada

Over 4,700 Canadian workers are paying the stiff price of Washington's trying to patch up the American economy.

At the Douglas Aircraft plant in Malton, Ont., the company is refusing to meet wage demands of UAW locals 1967 and 673 because it says it must follow the Nixon wage guidelines in the U.S., so it plans to enforce them in Canada, too.

A piece of American legislation is being enforced on Canadian territory, against Canadian workers, by an American company, and the Canadian government is doing nothing about it. The task of stopping what's been called "one of the most blatant slaps in the face to Canadian independence, and gestures of contempt to Canadian workers," has been left to the workers of 1967 and 673.

No bargaining is taking place, since the company refuses to discuss economic issues, and the 4,700 workers have been out on strike since Oct. 13.

This guy called Adamson from Douglas head office comes into the bargaining session and says the company will not discuss economic issues until the situation at the American plants of Lockheed and Boeing have been regulated," recounted a UAW spokesman. In effect, Adamson told representatives of Canadian workers that they weren't getting a cent until the American employees got their contract first — since a settlement in Malton could be used as a basis for

the union to get a settlement later at Boeing and Lockheed. So 4,700 Canadian workers have to wait.

"We told Adamson that we weren't part of the United States," the UAW spokesman said, "but obviously, as far as they're concerned, this is part of the U.S." Ironically, the Malton plant is in Ontario Premier William Davis' riding.

The company has fought "tooth and nail" to wiggle out of paying group insurance premium and Blue Cross, and has been sending letters to the families of workers virtually inviting them to scab — an invitation no one is taking up.

"It's disgusting that this company would badger the already worried families of workers with this cheap barrage of letters to heighten their fears and destroy morale in the strikers' families," said the UAW spokesman, "we went through the roof here when we saw them."

What makes this strike special is that the company is not saying that union wage demands are unreasonable — it's saying it doesn't plan to discuss them because of the situation in the United States. What can workers do when they are confronted with this? To win the strike at Douglas is one step. But to prevent any future Douglas — and there will be many Douglas — developing in future as the U.S. solves its problems at others' expense — is to reverse the wholesale hand-out of our industrial sectors to foreign owners.

Playing the bosses game at Texpack

The Textile Workers Union of America played the role of strikebreaker during the recent Texpack strike.

The TWUA filed application for the bargaining rights for scabs who crossed the CTCU's picket lines at Texpack's recently opened runaway plant in Rexdale.

On September 29 the company announced its intention of reopening Rexdale. One day later, September 30, the TWUA filed its application for certification. It claims to have signed up all the scabs working in the Rexdale plant.

CTCU president Kent Rowley in a letter to David Archer, president of the Ontario Federation of Labour, questioned the TWUA's actions. "There is no way that the TWUA could have organized these strikebreakers without the collusion of the company. This is pure, out-and-out strikebreaking."

Previously the OFL had issued a statement condemning Texpack's earlier attempts to break the strike. "Texpack had shown how far these employers are willing to resort to violence, if necessary, to defeat the legitimate aspirations of their employees." On Sept. 20 the OFL said "we support the strikers in their opposition to unions and the strikebreaking activities of the Company."

Rowley in his letter to Archer asked him "to restrain the conduct of its affiliate and to oblige the TWUA to withdraw its application before the Board, as it constitutes outright strikebreaking."

"It is our intention to contest the application, as we believe it to be contrary to the provisions of the Act. Strikebreakers cannot replace regular employees in a legal strike. However regardless of the legality of the action of the TWUA, every decent trade unionist in Canada will condemn the officers of that union for engaging in strikebreaking actions in an important battle for the jobs of Canadian workers," announced Rowley.

Archer who was formerly a TWUA organizer and retains his TWUA Union card, denounced the TWUA's latest action of scabbing for Texpack.

"In reply to your (CTCU) letter of October 4 . . . I have consulted our affiliate and organizing director, Bud Clark, and he has assured me that all employees were signed up in a proper manner."

The OFL letter supports the TWUA saying that the TWUA "signed up the new employees as they come in. He (Bud Clark) has practically 100 per cent membership."

Why Davis won

(Continued from Page 1)

Bill Davis just as it was in 1968 by Trudeauism. But in the process we lost many potential working class voters who didn't see the NDP as the party of working people.

Mort Lazarus was quoted in the papers as blaming Mac Makarchuk's loss of the Brantford seat on his close identification with the Texpack strike. If even labour leaders believe the NDP is too closely identified with the trade union movement then we're in serious trouble.

The NDP lost so many working class ridings — Brantford, Fort William Oshawa, Peterborough, Kitchener Scarborough Centre — and lost thousands of votes in others — including Stephen Lewis' own seat — that our party's whole election strategy must be seriously questioned. Especially because NDP candidates running nearly as socialists — emphasizing the issues of unemployment, foreign control, labour legislation, the power of the corporations — did much, much better than Hepp, a rank-and-file trade unionist himself, received 39% of the vote in Toronto's St. Andrew-St. Patrick. This represented an impressive increase in the NDP vote and Hepp lost only because the Liberal candidate threw all his support to Trade and Development Minister, Alan Grossman.



How the injunction battle floundered

In early 1966 Lord Thomson of Fleet decided to hurl a thunder-bolt at 49 of his minions on strike at the Oshawa Times and decided to smash the picket lines and get the paper out with scab labour. An injunction was granted to restrain picketing and all systems seemed to go — after all the injunction was a tried and tested method of breaking a strike and the bosses, courts and government felt they had every reason to repeat the formula in Oshawa. But they picked the wrong time and place.

The Ontario labour movement was seething with resentment over the widespread use of injunctions against the growing strike movement and in Oshawa they decided to put an end to them. And it was done without lawyers, submissions, research papers and verbal histrionics. Hundreds of auto workers and other unionized workers of Oshawa simply manned the picketline and ignored the injunction and the injunction went away. Or as the Toronto Globe and Mail wept: "Ontario has failed the courts." In the 11 days that elapsed between the issuing of a court injunction limiting the number of pickets at the Oshawa Times and the settlement of the strike masses of pickets flouted the court's order and no effort was made to enforce the law.

The government, of course, wanted to enforce the injunction but the mass support for the strikers was so overwhelming that they had to call off the dogs and inform His Lordship that he had to settle.

There was a tremendous lesson in the Oshawa Times strike, but unfortunately it was the bosses who did the learning, and when a similar situation developed at a strike-bound plastic factory in Peterborough the police and courts moved with a vengeance. The police landed up a peaceful demonstration in front of the plant, arrested 28 people and the courts quickly complied and some of those arrested were sentenced to two months in jail.

The workers fought on courageously at Tilco but they were beaten by the injunction and the inability of the union movement to break the injunction at the only place it is possible — on the picket-line.

True enough, there was a lot of huffing and puffing by the leadership of the OFL. At the convention of that year many of the leaders rose to oratorical heights, especially as they fought resolutions which would put some teeth into the injunction fight. It was the year that a New Democratic government appeared to be on the threshold — remember that great political slogan, 67 in 67 — and as one member of the executive of the OFL stated as he opposed organizing a mass demonstration at Queen's Park: "I will be satisfied with only 67 people at Queen's Park if they are there on a more or less permanent basis" — clever.

David Archer, fighting off challenges from the floor for some action, declared that he had made all sorts of stupid irrational speeches and can make them again" (as if anybody could ever doubt that). "But," he pleaded, "don't be the hands of the leadership or pin us to any predetermined course of action."

The leadership of the OFL went into the injunction fight briefs and presentations were hurled at the Tory fortress at Queen's Park. Conferences were held, sometimes at the Chateau Laurier in Ottawa, sometimes at the King Edward in Toronto, and the air was purple with pious pleas and proclamations. The government finally made a concession of sorts and the Ontario labour movement was given a Royal Commission of its very own. However, when Justice Rand was hushed it appeared that the trade union movement was going to be put back to the days of the Tolpuddle Martyrs. We now have bill 167 to re-

(Continued on Page 4)

Organizing women:

key to labour strength

The Second World War experience was an eye-opener for many working women. When they were needed in the labour force their contribution and their ability to engage in productive work of all kinds was applauded. A few concessions were even made to lighten the double tasks of worker and mother through the provision of day care centres throughout the cities. But of course, the women were used as a pool of reserve labour and when the men returned home, the day care centres were closed and the same women who had worked hard and still managed to care for their families, were told that their place was in the home; that they were failures as mothers if they 'neglected' their children to participate in the labour force.

But many women continued to work because they had to—just like most men. These women were channelled into the expanding service occupations in the economy—jobs which were low-paying, unorganized and which men viewed as 'women's work.' In industrial jobs women workers were exploited more than men performing the same tasks. In the growing 'white collar' occupations women were similarly treated—except in these areas another dimension to the job assumed importance. Not only were women, as men, forced to hire themselves out and endure the usual conditions of work, they also had to sell their faces, their figures and their voices as well. The 'voice with a smile' who sits behind the switchboard at Bell must also look

and dress a certain way to be hired for the job.

But this does not come as a surprise. We are all aware that capitalism has used workers in the way it has seen fit. But what can be condemned and must be changed, is the way in which the trade union movement has accepted and reinforced prevailing attitudes towards women workers. Most unionists are confused in their attitude towards women who work. While many accept the fact that women do work and some even know that women constitute approximately 30% of the labour force, they see women's jobs and women's wages as less important than those of men.

Many male workers understand that the majority of women who work do it because they must, but they continue to express the private opinion that they don't like their own wives working and that the incomes of women are merely a supplement to those of their husbands. If the woman is a single parent it's unfortunate, but she gets shoved into the same bag as married women bringing in the so-called 'second salary.'

With the present high unemployment the attitudes of male workers towards women are more clear 'women are taking away men's jobs,' or 'men are the real breadwinners.' Worry about the situation of women when things are better. These attitudes divide working people—the blame is placed on women, on immigrants, on other groups of workers, rather than on

those who do the hiring and those who create unemployment for their own profit. Organized labour must be clear about who is the real enemy.

The unions themselves have ignored the history of women in their unions. Virtually no trade union histories have anything to say about the role which women have played in the long story of struggle. Most unions have kept no records of the number and participation of women in their union. Only recently, with the growing anger of Canadian women making itself felt in the society generally, has an attempt been made to discover that history. And most of the work is being done by women who have never been involved in the trade union movement—because the unions themselves are not doing it.

The acceptance by trade unionists of the social view of women as helpers and supporters has had a profound impact on the way in which women participate in unions. Even in those unions with a large percentage of female workers—the leadership is dominated by men. The executives, the full-time officials and organizers are primarily male. Men simply do not view women as having equal potential for leadership and responsibility and women do not have to encounter this view very often before they come to believe it themselves or decide to fight back.

The trade union movement must begin to view women workers as being as important as male workers. It must undertake massive organizing of women in this country (83% remain unorganized), it must reject the conviction that men are union leaders, and women should be the silent membership and the secretaries to the union leaders. If it fails to do so the fighting back which women are now beginning to do within the unions will be only the first warning skirmish.

WAGE — PRICE — FREEZE — FRAUD

Why is it that wage and price controls, once so repulsive to "free enterprise," are now apparently the way of the capitalist future?

The answer, of course, is that some time ago competitive capitalism became monopoly capitalism.

Corporations believe in planning and controlling, with the state to do it for them when that becomes necessary. Capitalism is having its problems these days particularly in the United States. The costs of empire are rising. Someone has to bear them, and it's not going to be the corporations.

So corporate capitalism transforms itself into managed capitalism and keeping the workers in their place is dignified with the new name of an "incomes policy."

The day before yesterday, the capitalists dismissed talk of price controls as "creeping socialism." Today, they embrace them warmly and the shudder should go through the heart of any real socialist.

One thing the corporations haven't fully controlled so far is the organized part of the working class. Wage controls will close that gap. With them the process of free collective bargaining comes to an end.

The point has been frequently made by critics of the new order that while wages are controlled, profits are not. It's unfair. True, and such people do have their heart in the right place. But they're naive. They misunderstand the capitalist's strategy for dealing with the present unemployment.

President Nixon spelled it out in his own banal way in his last TV speech: it's profits that make the economy go round, so it's profits that must rise so as to create the incentive to invest that will then create the jobs.

If it sounds indirect, it's because it is.

It works by tricking down, so it may not work very well at all. But no matter, corporate profits will rise and that's the real name of the game. So let none of us imagine that the problem is that the distribution of income may worsen. It must or the strategy fails and unemployment remains.

Nor should we expect the Canadian government to be more humane. It was exactly the same strategy that underlay Mr. Beeson's most recent mini-budget when personal taxes were cut by 3% and corporate taxes by 7%.

Which is not to say that there were not, and are not, alternatives. If the object of the exercise was really to stimulate the economy for the benefit of people in general, then taxes could

have been cut for wage-earners and demand and employment increased in that way. But even that simple and straightforward option is denied us by the pandering to the corporations.

The same is true for wage and price controls. They are not necessary, at least not wage controls. The problem after all, is not inflation but unemployment. It's time we got our priorities straight. That's not to say that there isn't creeping inflation. But those who argue for wage controls are saying implicitly that it's union wage demands that cause inflation.

The fact of the matter is that in a world dominated by giant corporations even the big unions simply don't have that kind of power. Businessmen find unions a convenient scapegoat to divert our attention from the very real monopoly power that the corporations have. The latter find that they can maximize profits by escalating prices.

For Canada, where American-based multi-national corporations wield the power, the process is even simpler. Rising prices just roll across our far more undefended border.

Should it become necessary to do

something about inflation then Mrs. and foremost it's prices that must be controlled. Wages can be left to be determined by collective bargaining. Corporations can be counted on to refuse wage demands that they can't pass on in the form of higher prices.

We must be realistic however. Our logic may be sound, but it is unlikely to win out. What Washington does Ottawa is quick to follow. We must be ready for the worst. Nothing short of a clear refusal by organized labour to go along is likely to stop the process.

In the U.S., an initial blast by George Meany was followed by the total cooption of the leadership of American unions into administering the machinery of controls. In Canada the CLC leadership has spoken out against controls, but if the ball is to be carried it will have to be by the rank and file. We must hold our leadership to the line.

When the controls do come, we must refuse to obey them. Starting now, we must organize around this issue to create a new militancy. The impending death of collective bargaining in this country gives a new relevance to the old weapon of the general strike.

Injunction battle

(Continued from Page 3)
mind us of the Rand Commission. And the NDP didn't get 67 seats in 67.

We should remember this recent bit of our history because the injunction is still very much in use, and people are facing jail again for tackling the vicious device head-on. The tactic of combatting the legal straight-jackets on the labour movement by briefs and commissions has not worked and a new resolve to challenge injunctions by a united labour movement when and as they arise is, at this time the only way forward.

The Ontario labour movement does not need to get into the sterile argument between the ultras who order-up general strikes like one does a round of beer and the establishment who see the materialization of a future NDP government as the balm for all hurts to propose a policy of direct action—not at Queen's Park but at the factory site.

There is a question that goes: What if they gave a war and nobody came? In the context of the discussions at this convention of the OPL a similar question should be asked. What if they gave an injunction, and every body came?



ONTARIO WAFFLE

(1970)

ONTARIO NDP CONVENTION

OCT. 2-3-4

WAFFLE CANDIDATES SPEAK OUT

**KRISTA MAEOTS
FOR PRESIDENT**

**JOHN SMART
FOR PROV-SECRETARY**

"Profit is not a dirty word in Ontario," says the provincial minister of trade and development.

Private profit may not be a dirty word among Ontario's big businessmen, but "decent wages" and "expenditures for public benefit" have always been dirty words.

We are now in a state of war in our province, with the industrial barons and their government bagmen extending the exploitation of Ontario workers and executing the destruction of a country that the pioneers thought was too big to destroy.

The rhetoric of inflation is being used to fight the ordinary worker's efforts to achieve or maintain a reasonable standard of living, while our government gives subsidies called forgivable loans to large profit-making corporations such as Allied Chemicals and General Goods...major multi-national US-based firms. A massive assault is being launched against the organized labor movement, and newspaper pages are devoted to discussion of whether strikes should be outlawed, while the fact that Reader's Digest Association (Canada) Ltd., which receives favours from the federal government, tripled its profits in the last year is dealt with in a four-line filler in the Toronto Star.

We watch helpless while lakes, land and air are contaminated. We can do nothing, because the country does not belong to us. Our environment belongs to the corporations which pollute it for profits, and our rich resources are given away by governments at a moment's notice.

We are at war because war has been declared on us. The worker's right to work and to organize with other working people for mutual protection is being challenged by companies which have concern for nothing but the private gain of their large stockholders. Firms like Dunlop can shut down overnight, leaving 600 people unemployed. Thousands of part-time workers can be axed by government and industry without this meriting a single line in a single editorial column.

In order to effectively fight this increasing exploitation of human and natural resources, we need numbers, organization and solidarity.

CONT'D PAGE 2

The most important job facing the NDP in Ontario is the building of a socialist movement in the province.

The provincial office of the party must function as the organizing centre of this work. Without a base of members who have developed a socialist consciousness and are therefore prepared to support their government when it faces the economic pressures of private vested interests, the NDP might govern Ontario but would be without real power.

How should we go about building this base? We must first mount an educational programme aimed at the 20,000 members and 120,000 affiliated trade unions who now make up the party in Ontario. Provincial office must not concentrate so exclusively on building an electoral machine out of these people as it has done in the past. The riding associations need help in planning educational seminars as well as campaign schools. It is as important for a New Democrat to how the continental energy resources deal affects his future as it is for him to know how to silkscreen a veranda card.

The new organizations growing up among tenants, welfare recipients and the unemployed require an alteration in attitude and direction on our part. The growth of these organizations is a hopeful sign because in the process of organizing themselves people will become conscious of the nature of power in our society. These people will then help form

the base upon which the NDP will depend for the support of radical change. The NDP should be the vitalizing centre which gives these various social forces a common perspective, a sense of solidarity and an organization for united action.

The present relationship between these these organizations and the party is too often marked by suspicion on both sides. The NDP can demonstrate its support for these changes in our society by using some of its resources to hire community organizers to work in the same problem areas.

WAFFLE PROVINCIAL SECRETARY CANDIDATE JOHN SMART IS PRESIDENT OF THE KINGSTON RIDING ASSOCIATION AND A DOCTORAL STUDENT AT QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY. A FORMER HIGH SCHOOL TEACHER AND MEMBER OF THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO'S CCF MODEL PARLIAMENT IN 1959. HE HAS BEEN ACTIVE IN THE TORONTO RIDINGS OF YORK SOUTH AND SCARBOROUGH WEST AS WELL AS HAVING WORKED IN THE RIVERDALE BY-ELECTION. HE HAS BEEN A MEMBER OF THE PROVINCIAL COUNCIL (AS KINGSTON'S REPRESENTATIVE SINCE 1967 AND RECENTLY SERVED ON THE POLICY REVIEW COMMITTEE FOR THE 1970 PROVINCIAL CONVENTION.

WAFFLE CANDIDATE FOR THE PRESIDENCY OF THE ONTARIO NDP, KRISTA MAEOTS IS A RESEARCH COORDINATOR IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AT QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY. A GRADUATE OF QUEEN'S, SHE HAS WORKED AS A FEATURE WRITER FOR THE CALGARY HERALD AND A REPORTER AND FEATURE WRITER AT THE OTTAWA CITIZEN. MISS MAEOTS WAS AN ACTIVE MEMBER OF THE OTTAWA LOCAL OF THE AMERICAN NEWSPAPER GUILD AND ONE OF SEVERAL WOMEN WHO LED THE SUCCESSFUL STRUGGLE TO GET WOMEN JOURNALISTS ADMITTED TO THE NATIONAL PRESS CLUB. SHE HAS BEEN ACTIVE AS A RANK AND FILE MEMBER OF THE NDP, CANVASSING IN MANY ELECTIONS, FORMULATING CONVENTION RESOLUTIONS AND WRITING MATERIAL FOR PARTY PUBLICATIONS. SHE HAS BEEN INVOLVED FOR SOME TIME IN THE CANADIAN MOVEMENT FOR WOMEN'S LIBERATION.

CONT'D PAGE 2

And when we direct our attention to the problems of building our collective strength, we in the NDP will find that we are necessarily allies of, and a part of, the growing movement for women's liberation.

Women form a vast reservoir of unorganized labour in our society. While women make up 30 per cent of the work force in Canada, they constitute only 17 per cent of organized workers. They tend to be used as cheap labour, keeping down the general level of wages. Their job security is negligible, as they are used by industrial managers as a reserve labour force, the last to be hired and the first to be fired. Their jobs are the most menial, their conditions the most deplorable, and their mobility to higher positions is almost negligible.

High unemployment always means the lay-off of part-time and fulltime women workers and the reluctance of employers to hire women when there are men available. As the unemployment of women is often invisible--their husbands being forced to take up the economic burden--both government and industry can create enormous hardships for families without these economic crimes being reported in public records. The pressure to force women back into their homes is also coming from another direction: industrial and political leaders, the captians of the capitalist system, are panicked because their authority is being challenged by the growing militance of youth in the universities, in urban ghettos and on the streets. They cannot admit that the roots of this are political, that the free enterprise system cannot create a humanist environment for its people. Instead, those who want to protect their profits are trying to tell us that it is the family that is failing and that mothers in particular are not playing their proper role.

What we tend to forget is that it is not only women who suffer when they are forced back into their traditional housewife role. Much of the socially necessary labour of housework and child care in our society is paid for by men workers earning between \$3,000 and \$6,000 a year. Those who can afford it least are forced to bear the burden of housekeeping and child care costs in our society, in order that they can go out to earn their bread and butter. The collective struggle of women can and will expose the inhumanity and rigidity of our present economic system. It can add new inspiration and new energy to the struggles of the organized and unorganized workers, and the unemployed, and to the battles of the NDP as a political focus for a broad socialist movement to transform our society.

Before men and women can work together effectively in labour unions and in the NDP, however, we must rid ourselves of any remnants of the anti-female prejudices we share with the managers of this exploitative economy and we must work diligently to reform the structures and operations of our own organizations. Some battles have already been fought in the Canadian labour movement, but there are many more left to fight. The number of provisions for maternity leave and for equal pay in collective agreements is pitiful. No union has ever gone on strike for maternity pay or women's rights to promotion, and no union has negotiated for in-plant day care.

Women are scarcely represented on union executives and negotiating teams, and rarely hired as organizers. Given all this, union leaders still have the boldness to say that women are difficult to organize. People must be mobilized around their special needs. How many male workers have shown any sensitivity to the needs of women workers. (Countries like Sweden have made major moves in this area.) Within the NDP we must immediately and substantially increase the proportion of women on all party councils, executives and committees, and the proportion of women candidates in municipal, provincial and federal election battles (with more women running promising seats). We can make it easier for women to play an active role in the politics of the party, for instance, by organizing day care for meetings and conventions (with men and women both participating in its operation.).

In have focussed on the women's question because I feel that increasing the involvement of women must be an essential part of our efforts to democratize the party and to build a strong mass movement for socialism. In order to substantially broaden the base of this party, our executive officers must be more than administrators between conventions.

They must work as active organizers for the policies we adopt at these meetings, keeping constantly in touch with the rank and file of the party.

We cannot afford to have a silent majority in our own party, as we have now. The riding associations must become centres of political activity in their communities, with party executives encouraging such developments and providing whatever assistance is needed.

We must broaden our understanding of the problems of all our people...women, men, blacks, immigrants, Indians, welfare recipients, tenants...and pool our militance so that our collective anger can help us take our collective destiny into our own hands.

WOMEN'S LIBERATION CAUCUS

MEETING FOR ALL
WOMEN DELEGATES
& ALTERNATES

FRIDAY 5 30
ALGONQUIN ROOM

JOHN SMART ... CONT'D

by using some of its resources to hire community organizers to work in the same problem areas. The objective of these party organizers should not be just "social animation" of the New Left variety, but to win people over to a perspective that will enable them to fight for power in common with other groups.

At present power in the Ontario NDP is concentrated in the provincial executive and in the caucus at Queen's Park. The provincial council which should be the real centre of power and decision-making in the party is largely ineffective. It meets only four times a year and acts mostly as a rubber stamp for decisions made by the executive and is not even allowed to approve the budget of the party.

Proposed constitutional amendments which would increase the surveillance of the council by making all NDP members of the council should be defeated when they come before the convention.

Our failure in the NDP to have decisions made by the most representative groups in the party has had bad effects in the recent past. In the past two years the provincial executive has --approved the use by the party of professional fund raisers;

--wanted to hire a public relations firm to handle the party's press relations; and

--tied us all into a system of computerized membership processing which is a model of inefficiency.

In order to help members prepare for the present convention, the provincial council set a 90-day deadline for the submission of resolutions. Instead of circulating the resolutions according to the provincial council's directions the resolutions were kept on the shelf in the provincial office until 10 days before the convention.

The NDP in Ontario must become a truly democratic party and a truly socialist party in its policy and its organizing activities.

The rate at which it moves toward those objectives also determines the speed toward which we can move to a socialist Ontario in an independent socialist Canada.

LET'S TALK POLICY

.....NOT PERSONALITIES

CANADA FACES A CRISIS OF SURVIVAL. ONTARIO IS THE LARGEST PROVINCE IN ENGLISH-SPEAKING CANADA. WHAT WE DO IN ONTARIO MAY DECIDE WHETHER WE CANADIANS GAIN OUR LIBERATION AND INDEPENDENCE FROM THE AMERICAN EMPIRE THROUGH SOCIALISM.

THE WAFFLE GROUP APPEALS TO THE DELEGATES TO KEEP THEIR EYE ON THE CRITICAL ISSUES; NOT TO ALLOW OUR CONVENTION TO BECOME A POPULARITY CONTEST BETWEEN TWO LEADERS, WHO, AS THEY ADMIT, DIFFER LITTLE ON BASIC PARTY POLICIES. MANY ISSUES CONCERN AND ANGER CANADIANS--THE AMERICAN TAKE-OVER, INFLATION, UNEMPLOYMENT AND OPPRESSION OF THE POOR, THE OFFENSIVE AGAINST LABOUR, THE CRISIS IN EDUCATION AND HOUSING, THE EXPLOITATION OF WOMEN, POLLUTION AND THE NEED FOR PEOPLE TO CONTROL THE "WHAT" AND "HOW" OF THEIR LIVES. OUT OF THE PEOPLE'S WRATH A MOVEMENT IS GROWING IN ONTARIO. THIS MOVEMENT WILL BRING DOWN THE STALE TORY GOVERNMENT OF JOHN ROBERTS. OUR TASK AT THIS CONVENTION IS TO FORMULATE POLICIES AND A STRATEGY TO REPLACE THE OLD SOCIETY WITH A TRULY SOCIALIST ONTARIO.

THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THIS TASK REQUIRES A DEMOCRATIC SOCIALIST MOVEMENT, A MOVEMENT FOR PEOPLE'S CONTROL. THE PEOPLE MUST DECIDE WHAT HAPPENS IN THEIR MOVEMENTS, UNIONS AND THEIR POLITICAL PARTY. FROM THIS WILL GROW A TRUST THAT THEY HAVE THE POWER TO CONTROL WHAT HAPPENS IN THEIR COMMUNITY, PROVINCE AND COUNTRY.

THE WAFFLE GROUP IS ATTEMPTING TO MOVE THE PARTY TOWARDS A NEW SOCIALIST DIRECTION IN POLITICS. IN THIS IT IS POLICY, IDEAS, STRATEGY AND PEOPLE'S CONTROL WHICH WILL DECIDE THE FUTURE--AND NOT THE CULT OF THE GREAT LEADER. SOCIALIST LEADERS ARE CHOSEN TO SERVE AS SPOKESMEN OF DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENTS; PEOPLE SHOULD NOT COME TO SOCIALIST CONVENTIONS TO SERVE THE LEADERS.

WE ARE HERE TO DECIDE ON THE KIND OF MOVEMENT AND PARTY WE NEED TO SAVE OUR LAND FROM TOTAL ENGULFMENT BY THE US CORPORATIONS AND THEIR CANADIAN JUNIOR PARTNERS. THE TIME IS SHORT. OUR DECISIONS IN THE NEXT FEW DAYS CAN BE HISTORIC. HELP MAKE THE ISSUES OF POLICY AND DIRECTION THE MAIN CONCERN OF THIS CONVENTION. LET US GO FORWARD TOGETHER TO BUILD A SOCIALIST ONTARIO IN AN INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST CANADA.

WHAT THE WAFFLE'S ALL ABOUT

BY MEL WATKINS

On September 4, 1969, the Waffle emerged on the Canadian political scene at a press conference in Ottawa. It went to the federal convention in October at Winnipeg and garnered more than a third of the delegates' votes for its manifesto For An Independent Socialist Canada. It left Winnipeg committed to struggling at all levels of the party for a re-dedication to democratic socialism.

In July, 1970 the Waffle's candidate ran a strong third in the leadership race in Saskatchewan. In August more than 200 wafflers assembled from across Canada for a three-day conference, and committed the Waffle to a challenge to the leadership of the federal party in April 1971. In September, the Waffle organized demonstrations in major Canadian cities against the continental energy deal; a thousand people marched here in Toronto.

Now, in October, the Waffle in Ontario is presenting a broad and detailed program for this convention that would enable our party to begin seriously to build the socialist base necessary for the building of a socialist Ontario. The Waffle resolutions were sent to every riding association in the province, and have been debated in and endorsed by a number of them. To achieve that much in little more than a year required not only the dedication of many people, but is a clear indication of the wide and growing appeal of the Waffle's politics. That appeal is not accidental. By 1969, our Party was increasingly out of touch with two basic changes that were taking place around it.

The first of these was the grassroots ferment against the Americanization of the country and its institutions. A process that had already reached an advanced stage in the take-over of the economy not only accelerated in that area but spread increasingly into the culture, the media and the educational system in particular.

But for perhaps the first time in Canadian history this Americanization ran into widespread and vocal resistance, spearheaded by the Waffle. By 1970 even the Trudeau government was being compelled to make nationalist gestures and the stage is now set for a serious debate on how to build an independent Canada and what the content of that independence should be.

The second fundamental change that manifested itself in the 1960's was whole new groups of people collectively demanding basic changes in their lives and prepared to go beyond ordinary parliamentary pressures to get those changes. Poor people, minority groups, students, women, workers--all were putting real democratization back on the agenda of politics.

The Waffle, without always necessarily knowing in a conscious way what it had done, has related to, and linked, these important developments. For to call for an independent socialist Canada was to say that there must be a stop to Americanization in the name of building communities where people should control their own lives.

The relevance of the work the Waffle is doing is beyond question. But one thing that all of us in this Party know is that the new Jerusalem will not be built in a day. We must work very hard so that the rising wave of nationalism in this Province is not mindlessly dissipated but is directed toward the essential task of creating not only independence but independence and socialism. We must work equally hard to ensure that the rising level of protest by disparate groups against the existing system is bound together by a clear vision of a democratic socialist Ontario.

Democratization and commitment begin at home. We ask that you join the Waffle in making our Party in Ontario a truly democratic and socialist Party, right now.

LEADERSHIP HOPEFULS MEET WAFFLERS

Ontario NDP leadership candidates Stephen Lewis and Walter Pitman each spent about an hour with some 100 Ontario wafflers Sept. 19 to discuss future policies and the direction of the provincial party.

Although both candidates voiced concern over the Americanization of Ontario and Canada and their respective willingness to give priority to the issue of corporate exploitation of the resources and workers of the province, neither would advocate nationalization of private industry as the first step toward peoples' control of the Ontario economy.

Stephen Lewis said he wasn't inclined to immediate nationalization in the case, for example, of INCO. We must maintain flexibility in the means we are prepared to take to regain possession of Ontario's land, resources and manufacturing industries, he said.

"I've never hesitated about nationalization where it makes sense," Mr. Lewis said, "And I wouldn't hesitate to introduce public ownership wherever necessary and relevant."

"And I do have some hesitation in committing the party to that one method across the board."

Waffler Mel Watkins told Mr. Lewis he was "profoundly wrong" in his economic interpretation of the fiscal impossibility of government take-over of large American industries and corporations. Referring to a statement by Mr. Lewis (in Brantford a year ago) that a government take-over of a company like General Motors would bankrupt the province, Prof. Watkins noted that such ideas imply basic misconceptions about the nature of international corporations operating in Canada.

The realization that the international corporations have operated by exporting their profits to the United States necessarily implies that the owners needn't receive cash payment upon government take-over of their businesses.

"We can issue long-term bonds and pay them out of the future profits of those same corporations," Watkins explained.

"This supposed burden of nationalization is very much exaggerated," he said.

Although affirming in answers to questions that he couldn't think of a better place to start nationalization than INCO, Walter Pitman could not commit himself to a policy of nationalization either.

"Public ownership is a very significant and important means by which we begin the process" of regaining control of Ontario, he said. But Mr. Pitman is somewhat fearful about using nationalization as a single tool.

Mr. Pitman insisted that he voices the left-wing policies of the NDP but that he couches them in words that "explain and convince rather than excite".

Mr. Lewis, on the other hand, warned against moderating the tone of party policy for fear of alienating an electorate which Mr. Pitman claims is "both progressive and conservative". In so doing the party can leave itself open to being unable to carry through with its programs upon coming to power.

In terms of the inner structures of the provincial NDP, Walter Pitman advocated "turning on the party membership" so it would be ready to assume more control. Mr. Lewis advocated a greater immersion of MLAs into the party and a situation wherein MLAs would be much more responsible to the membership.

---Tracy Morey

NIXON DRINKS



On Saturday, Sept. 12, 1970 The Waffle group organized demonstrations in a number of cities in opposition to the continental energy

resources deal. In Toronto nearly 1,000 people marched to Queen's Park. In Ottawa 120 assembled at Parliament Hill. Jim Laxer, author of the new book *The Energy Poker Game*, made the following speech to demonstrators:

"Today in major cities across Canada, demonstrations are being held against the continental energy deal. We have here to say no to the energy deal.

This week in Montreal the talks between Canada and the United States on the continental energy deal have resumed. The energy deal means that the Canadian-American border will be erased for natural gas, oil, electric power, nuclear energy and eventually water. It means that these resources in Canada will be permanently available to US corporations for export to the United States, on their terms. It means that the profits from our resources will continue to flow out of the country and that the mining industry will continue to enjoy the flagrant tax loop-holes and depletion allowances that allow it to get away with paying one third of the corporate taxes that other industries pay.

The energy deal means that instead of diversifying our economy in Canada, by processing our resources here and locating manufacturing industries in the resource producing areas, we continue to send the jobs out of Canada---and we are doing this at a time when there are 700,000 Canadians unemployed.

The energy deal means that natural gas, the least polluting fuel, will not be available as cheaply to allow Canadian industry to convert to it in an attempt to clean up our environment. And if the water diversion schemes that have been talked about

become a reality, it will mean the flooding of large parts of the interior of BC; it will mean a potential ecological catastrophe in our north.

The energy deal will also mean that our resources will be increasingly important to the American military. We all know that Canadian diplomats are not taken seriously by anyone in the world. But we equally know that our resources are a fact of world importance and that as long as these resources are used to supply industries that produce weapons to kill people in southeast Asia, Canadian resources instead of being used for the benefit of people, are being used against people all over the world.

We demand public ownership of our resource industries. Through public ownership and public planning we can locate secondary industry in the resources producing areas to provide jobs for Canadian people. Through public ownership, we can get away from short term profit as the key determinant of the economic good.....

At the time of the pipeline fiasco of the fifties and the Columbia River sell-out of the sixties, people said such things must never be allowed to happen again. Well, they are happening again and on a much greater scale.

We are here to tell our government, the American government and big business that we will not be committed by what they do. They cannot sign away the future of Canada and commit the Canadian people. When the opportunity comes, the people of Canada will rid themselves of the energy pact that is being put together---whether it be in the form of a package deal, or more likely, in a series of piecemeal arrangements.

Today we have only begun our campaign and we are only a few. But we will fight the government and the corporations tooth and nail on this question. We will take the issue to the resource producing areas, to the unemployed, to meetings in union halls, to teach-ins and rallies on campuses....

"THE ENERGY POKER GAME"

THE POLITICS OF THE CONTINENTAL RESOURCES DEAL

BY JAMES LAXER

New Press

\$1.50

AVAILABLE AT WAFFLE BOOK STAND

Watkins: NDP ran against itself

(In the last issue of the Citizen, Alderman Karl Jaffary analyzed the recent Ontario election and concluded that one of the factors in the defeat of the NDP was its inability to involve itself deeply enough in urban affairs. In this article Mel Watkins, from his position on the party's left, offers a vastly different interpretation to the election and a new program for the party to follow.)

By Mel Watkins



To Mel Watkins the NDP ran a bad campaign that had little to do with its convention policy.

What happened to the NDP on the way to the polls last month? From a partisan point of view it would be nice to know before we face the electorate again in any way, shape or form. For the harsh truth is that we did badly.

Barely able to hold our own at a time when other provincial governments were being turned out of office like clockwork, and when Ontario voters should have had enough evident grievances to want a change is to have suffered a real setback. We won't get another crack at Queen's Park for four years. If the Americans haven't completely overrun us by then — and it's a big if — we'd better be ready to offer a real alternative to the people of Ontario. This time we clearly failed to do that.

The conventional wisdom within the establishment of the Party is that we were beaten by the \$5 million, give or take a million, that the Tories spent to turn Bill Davis from a non-person into a person. The brainwashing is not in doubt, but its relevance to our defeat is

SELLING DAVIS

Public opinion polls, for what they are worth, suggest that Davis had a commanding lead over Nixon and Lewis in the mind of the voter before the mass advertising began. In any event, we can't pretend to be surprised by the Tory technique. That's how big business sells soap and they cared enough about Bill Davis to give him the same treatment.

The NDP is never going to win until it manages to do so in spite of the marketing capabilities of the old parties.

And the solution is not to fight fire with fire by trying to make our leader as personable etc. as their leader. True, the NDP did run more on issues than the other parties — though not as effectively as we might about which we will say more shortly — but in the literature emanating from Party headquarters Stephen Lewis loomed large. It didn't work, and it shouldn't have been tried.

It really does cost \$5 million to play the leader game and the party wasn't within a country mile of being able to compete effectively. On principle, it shouldn't have been tried. Democratic socialism is about

transforming elitist societies. We lack conviction if we are unable to resist temptation and unwilling to put our own house in order.

It is also a moot point whether the delegates to the 1970 NDP convention in Ontario realized that their intense debates on policy were to be regarded by the Lewis campaign committee as second-order activities. Certainly this writer has no recollection, as a delegate, of the Convention endorsing such a heavy emphasis on leadership.

It has already been conceded that relatively speaking, the NDP did run on issues. But even then, there were problems. The first is simply that we failed to run on the policies endorsed by the aforementioned 1970 convention. That was most striking in the area of public ownership, where a resolution, passed by a ratio of 20 to 1, for nationalization of the energy resource industries, was watered down to nationalization of the natural gas distribution system.

To understate the matter, the essence and intent of that resolution were lost. Similarly excellent resolutions on housing and on women emerged in party literature as bland pap.

The most important point to be insisted on is the straightforward matter of democracy within the Party. Policy conventions have about as much relevance as they do for the Conservatives and the Liberals if the NDP leadership reserves the right to rewrite the program to suit its political preconceptions. Again, we lack credibility as democrats when we act so undemocratically.

The second problem with respect to issues is the absence of priorities. By running on everything, we failed to run on anything. If Bill Davis won by being the most credible

leader, we must bear the blame for letting that become the issue by default, rather than issues proper which has always been our forte. The NDP presentation of issues — five areas and a number of concrete issues within each — was academic and meaningless to the voter.

The result, incredibly, was that the Americanization of Ontario came across as one of about two dozen issues. What should have been the number one issue for the NDP — and I am convinced from many speeches before riding associations that the great majority of party members feel the same way — got lost in the shuffle. It was presumably because of this mistake that Stephen Lewis managed to let himself be outflanked on the left by Robert Nixon on the issue of foreign ownership.

Just days before the election, Lewis was calling for a code of good corporate behaviour — shades of the late Bob Winters while Nixon was willing to nationalize branch plants being arbitrarily closed down. To lose the main issue with which the voter identifies us was a lapse of the first order.

Equally surprising was the unwillingness of the leadership to make repressive labour legislation and strikebreaking a major issue. Surprising because Lewis got his mandate from the Convention as a result of overwhelming union support. Surprising too because the Texpack strike was there during the election as a tailor-made example of how American corporations, with the help of Ontario courts and cops, exploit Canadian workers. Lewis made a token appearance on the picket line, but so did Nixon. The strike was on the verge of being settled before Lewis was prepared to endorse the strikers' demand for public ownership if necessary.

In this case, it's hard to escape the conclusion that Lewis was frightened at the prospect of favouring public ownership — which is a curious position for a socialist — and unwilling to support a Canadian union that, along with everything else, was being raided by an international union.

SUPPORT STRIKERS

Perhaps the anti-union sentiments displayed by some voters, which then became votes against the NDP, would be lessened if the NDP had been willing to throw its lot whole-heartedly with a group of strikers who appear to have had a good deal of public sympathy. Instead, we ended up looking less like a workers' party and more like the captive of the leadership of the international unions.

A third, and final, problem with respect to issues was that we were much more convincing on diagnoses than on prescriptions. The Party effectively linked unemployment and foreign ownership, but failed to register a convincing solution. We probably aroused anxieties, which were already high after

Richard Nixon's economic bombshell of August 15, and may well have frightened the voter into supporting the safe alternative of Davis. Again, it would seem that we were panic-stricken at the prospect of advocating a radical solution, yet if our analysis was right, only a radical solution was credible.

Much of what I'm trying to get at could be summarized by saying that the NDP failed to accept its proper role as a working class party and failed to pose a socialist alternative to the Ontario electorate. The leadership of the Party seems to operate on the assumption that the working class will vote for them, having nowhere else to go, and that it can safely run a campaign designed to get middle class votes.

In fact, the working class sees no real difference between the NDP and the Tories and votes for the Tories as the tried and tested alternative. It's tough to fault them, for doing that. At the same time, the middle class is unreliable, opting for Trudeaumania in 1968 and even for Davismania in 1970.

The moral seems clear. Tabor a program to the needs of working people and let those middle class voters who know change is necessary — and many do, for they are in the NDP and often in its left-wing — relate to that program. In the process we might also come up with programs genuinely relevant to, say, professional people who increasingly know from their own work experience the need for workers' control.

If that seems utopian, then consider some facts. There were some half-dozen NDP candidates in the election who were supporters of the left-wing Waffle position within the Party. Much more so than the Party proper they ran on the issues, they took the 1970 Convention program literally and they didn't hesitate to use the word socialism. While the Party's overall popular vote was increased by 0.9 percentage points, the average gain of these Waffle candidates was 6.8 percentage points. Indeed, half of the Party's gain was made in seven Waffle ridings.

Another relevant measure is to rank the ridings in 1967 and 1971 respectively by popular vote for the NDP candidate, calculate the difference in rank, and then order each 1971 candidate from best improvement to worst. If that is done for Metro Toronto candidates, Dan Heap in St. Andrew St. Patrick ranks first and Steve Penner in Dovercourt second, both are Wafflers. For the province as a whole, Dan Heap is 5th, and Steve Penner is 24th while Stephen Lewis is 64th and Fiona Nelson in York Forest-Hill where the Party ran flat out on moderation is tied for 113th.

The definitive doctoral thesis on the Ontario election won't be done for a while yet but in the interim we cannot reject the hypothesis that the NDP would have done better running as a socialist party.

1. Introduction

This paper is being presented at the first provincial Waffle meeting in a year and a half. During that time the country has experienced its most serious political crisis since the Second World War (the 'October Crisis'), and the NDP has fought and lost a provincial election.

We ourselves have engaged in our most important struggle within the NDP so far (the federal leadership campaign) and have expanded our social base to include a significant number of trades union militants. The emergence of a Waffle wing within the trades-union movement in the last few months as a role of attraction for left-wing opponents of the official trades union leadership has panicked the entrenched labour bureaucracy, centered in the UAW and the Steelworkers, so that they have begun to campaign openly for the expulsion of the Waffle from the NDP. The Windsor Conference on the Auto Pact particularly angered them. Behind the charge that the Waffle was illegitimately 'interfering' in the internal affairs of the Trades Union movement lies the fear that the leadership of the top bureaucrats is being undermined within their own unions.

We now face the situation where we have to wage a struggle merely to preserve our current status within the NDP. How we wage that struggle will determine the pattern of our strategic and organizational development during the coming period. It is most

important that we do not allow our immediate response to be dictated by momentary short-run reactions to the tactics of the NDP right-wing letting the long-run take care of itself. On the contrary, our long-run strategy should determine our middle-run strategy, and within that context we should work out our practical responses to the immediate bluffs and threats of our conservative opponents within the NDP.

2. Aspects of the international context

The developing crisis in Canadian society is part of an international crisis of World capitalism. Certain tendencies in this process have become clear. The Revolution of the neo-colonial world is expressed in armed national liberation struggles on every Continent. The military interventions of the imperialist powers has catalysed global dissatisfaction by youth and especially students in all the imperial metropolises (Japan, Western Europe, and North America). Oppressed national minorities (e.g. Blacks in the USA, Quebecois in Canada, Irish in the United Kingdom) have begun protracted struggles for self-determination. These initial revolts have overlapped with two other processes. First, a deepening crisis of capitalist values and culture, expressed particularly in an international re-emergence of the women's movement after a generation of patriarchal counter-revolution; and an intensification of economic competition between the major imperialist blocs (Japan, the EEC, and the USA), with attendant

trade wars, financial imbalance, and a widespread assault on the bargaining power of organized labour. Widespread and growing unemployment is a widespread feature of all major capitalist societies. So too is the exacerbation of regional disparities. So too is the political attack mounted by the state on trades union organisation.

One further tendency is clear: the radicalisation process begins but does not end with the 'cultural' revolt of (middle-class) students, youth, and women, and the national revolt of oppressed minorities. Significant sectors of the working class (both blue-collar workers in secondary industry, and white-collar workers in the public sector) have responded with militant class action in the face of political and economic assaults mounted by the bourgeoisie and its state against their living standards and their mass organizations.

Certain features of this emerging class consciousness are clear: it develops rapidly, explosively and relatively spontaneously. It bursts the boundaries of official trades union structures grown conservative and bureaucratic during the traumas of the Cold War. It threatens the passive hegemony over the working class exercised by the major reformist parties---in Britain, the Labour Party, in France and Italy the Communist Parties, in the USA the Democratic Party, in Canada the NDP.

There is of course no guarantee that working class

revolts will be expressed in political forms, or even by a turn to the Left.

The success of a socialist revolution in any country depends in the first instance on the construction of an alliance between the radicalising sectors of the working class and the social forces represented by the cultural and national revolts of other strata. The only way to construct such an alliance is at the level of a political party united round a unified strategy expressed, minimally in a political program.

3. The Waffle and the NDP

It is in this context that we should understand the conflicts developing within Canadian social-democracy, and from this perspective that we should plot our long-run and short-run strategies.

The conflicts within the NDP reflect conflicts that are developing within the social forces which are expressed in the Party. The NDP represents an alliance between two strata: the trades union bureaucracy (particularly that of the Canadian sections of the old CIO, and inextricably rooted in the anti-communist offensives of the early Cold War period) on the one hand, and a liberal sector of the professional middle-class on the other. This is not to deny that the NDP lays claim to the heritage of the CCF, nor to deny that many party workers are

drawn from other strata. Merely to state the obvious: effective power within the NDP (and the more the current trend to professionalization of party work increase the more true this is) is exercised by a bloc of trades union bureaucrats in alliance with a layer of the professional middle-class. Politically they unite in a program of social reforms in the context of a technocratic rationalization of the system.

A working-class party it is not. A socialist movement, so long as it is controlled by the social forces whose political party it currently is---it can never be. To 'win the NDP to socialism' would require the radicalisation of the entire trades union leadership, as well as the entire apparatus currently centralized around the Lewis family.

Certainly radicalisation is taking place within the strata which form the social base of social-democracy: but it obeys the law of uneven development. The growing split within the NDP is the political expression of the widening rift within the official structures of Canadian trades unionism and within the professional middle class. In the first instance the tentative alliance between these quite separate social forces was set in motion by the intervention of left-nationalist intellectuals.

Subsequently, the political profile of the Waffle has become less defined, as first 'new left' elements and then trades unionists were attracted to the group.

At this point, several strategic points can be made:

1) The political terrain which the Waffle occupies appears to afford an opportunity to construct the basis of the political alliance which can rally the social bloc capable of waging a potentially successful struggle for socialism in this country: namely, under the umbrella of the left opposition within the NDP.

2) This bloc will not materialize until there has been a deep radicalisation of the rank and file within the trade union movement. We can help focus that radicalisation when it occurs by providing a political framework within which it can express itself, but we cannot create it.

3) Until that process occurs, the Waffle will lack a mass base, and consequently will be too weak a coalition to hold together outside the general framework of the NDP.

Consequently, we must fight to maintain our presence within the party.

4) During the coming period, if we are to assemble the social forces we need we must streamline our organisation so that we are capable of intervening more and more outside the parliamentary arena according to the dynamic rhythms of class struggle.

5) In short, although we obviously run the risk of collision with the right-wing of the party in so far as we successfully begin to challenge its political leadership (or lack of it)

within the trades unions, if we are to have any hope of building a socialist movement in this country our response to the uneasiness of the NDP hierarchy must be: BUILD THE WAFFLE. In so far as we have already decided to refrain from an across-the-board struggle for nominations within the constituency organisations and have also insisted on party membership as a condition for voting on Waffle decision-making, we have gone at least part way to establish our legitimacy as a wing of the NDP. If our social-democratic opponents wish to fight us on extra-parliamentary activity we will at least be fighting on our own territory: matters of political principle affecting the future of the Canadian people.

4. The Waffle and labour struggles

Implicit in the above very general remarks is the recognition that the development of a trades union wing under the Waffle banner has transformed the political significance of the group.

The emergence of this wing reflects the increasing recognition by the Ontario Waffle that it is necessary to support the growing number of militant worker struggles. We have moved from the early fight against the Dunlop shut-down, to the strike at Texpack and the current agitation around the renegotiation of the auto-pact.

It is evident that this turn towards the working-class must dominate the next period of our activities. To clarify discussions about how this might be successfully accomplished, the following critical points are offered.

First, the formation of a Labour Committee and its intervention in the OFL convention with a programmatic statement are developments that deserve careful evaluation by the whole Waffle. While it is a great advance, obviously, that we now have a trades union section, elementary principles of democracy dictate that the Labour Committee should not operate completely autonomously from the rest of the Waffle. Neither the Windsor Conference nor the Labour Committee should be able to determine policy for something as important as the proposed campaign around the Auto Pact. Only full debate over policy will make it possible for Waffle supporters who are not in the organized labour movement to work in general support of Waffle policy. Faulty co-ordination between the different sections of the movement runs the risk of allowing our political activity to split into a sporadic series of minor interventions in the constituency organization on the one side, and a narrowly syndicalist thrust in the trades unions on the other.

Secondly, the Waffle responded to a call from workers on strike at Texpack by organizing picket support and helping to build a mass demonstration at Queen's Park. Our overall contribution to the successful outcome of the strike should not blind us to certain

problems that have still not been adequately assessed. Throughout the strike there was a tendency to impose the Waffle banner on strike support work. In some cases this actually lost potential supporters. Some union locals who had agreed to help in the distribution of leaflets supporting the strike subsequently declined to distribute material which appeared as a special issue of the Waffle News. This kind of problem could be avoided in future by helping build Strike Support Committees around particular strikes. The Waffle should avoid any tendency to substitute itself for those forces we need to mobilise.

Thirdly, the OFL convention special of the Waffle Labour News contained a lead article entitled: "A strategy for Ontario Labour", which proposed two major campaigns: around the sell-out of resources, and around the Auto-Pact. While both issues are important, it is debatable whether they provide a sufficient focus for labour work.

The proposed two-stage approach of the auto-pact campaign has certain problems. The immediate demand calls for a strengthening of the auto-pact safeguards. This demand opposes the attempt to restrict the number of jobs in the Canadian auto industry---but does not place this attempt in the wider context of a general employer offensive that must be fought on every level. The competitive forces of the capitalist market dictate the necessity in North America of a state-directed policy of wage restraint, and even wage-control. Such a policy entails in

addition to attempts to impose wage guidelines, a more political assault on trades union organization, including the right to strike or conduct union business in the plant. In short, wage-controls as well as the arbitrary shutdowns and lay-offs in the industrial sector must be fought.

It is not clear either that this immediate demand is transitional to the longer-term demand for public ownership of the auto industry.

In any case, the implications of a 'nationalist' strategy for the mobilization of class struggle in Ontario must be thoroughly and openly discussed at this juncture. The problem in the next period is to raise demands that large numbers of workers (especially auto workers) can translate into action.

5. Internal organization

We have already made the point several times (and others before us): if we are to build the Waffle we have to out-grow our organizational immaturity. The lines of communication between the leadership and the base are, to be charitable, unclear. Political debate has tended to centre around tactics rather than strategy. At least until recently the strain towards consensus rather than the clear posing of policy alternatives in political struggle has marked our internal discussions. As a consequence, we have a low level of overall political self-definition---and a reduced political effectiveness. Healthy patterns of

leadership can only develop in so far as we correct these evident organizational weaknesses.

At this conference we would like to see at least the basic conditions established a more effective political organization.

The following proposals are offered:

- a) The creation of a regular internal bulletin which is informational and, in a minimum way, theoretical.
- b) The maintenance of records of meetings and regular communication of decisions to Waffle supporters.
- c) A serious effort to develop political debate through publication of key articles and position papers.

At the more structural level:

- d) The establishment of an annual provincial conference with plenary power to establish general strategy for the following year, at which
- e) A small executive is elected mandate to co-ordinate political activity between annual conferences.
- f) Clearer lines of communication with local Waffle groups---presumably the constituent units of the movement---so that local activities can be co-ordinated with overall strategy.

PUT POLITICS IN COMMAND!

BUILD THE WAFFLE!

Chris Huxley

Jackie Larkin

Steve Penner

Andy Wernick.

For an Independent, Socialist Canada

A socialist program for Canadian trade unionists

Issued by the NDP-Waffle Labour Committee

SECTION I:

TOWARDS A SOCIALIST TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

As socialists in the trade union movement we recognize that the crisis in the Canadian economy cannot be solved by tinkering with the present social system. As activists in our unions, we believe that organized labour must become the vital centre of a movement to put power into the hands of all the working people of Canada. The cautious ways of the past do not remain an option for labour. We are under assault today as corporations and governments are determined to break our strength and force working people to pay the price for economic readjustment.

The right wing establishment in the trade union movement leads us off the fields of battle. They have failed to mobilize our movement in the fight against the corporations. They have attempted to replace rank and file militancy with bureaucracy. They have tried to substitute submissions to the government for industrial action. Our task is to revitalize the labour movement by mobilizing for rank and file control.

CANADA AND THE AMERICAN EMPIRE

Our country has become a resource base and consumer market in the American empire. American corporations dominate our economy, deciding whether and where the people of Canada shall have jobs. The anti-labour decisions of the American government to hold down wages are supported with enthusiasm by cabinet ministers in Ottawa and in the provincial capitals.

The decisions of the corporations intervene in the lives of all our people. Today young Canadians face a bleak future in the midst of wealth and potential opportunity. Women are exploited by low wages and inequality on the job, and by male domination in their personal and social relations. French Canadians are held in a position of inferiority by American and English Canadian corporations, and subjugated as a nation. Our native peoples, the Indians